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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
DURING
THE REIGN
OF
GEORGE THE THIRD;

By ROBERT SCOTT, Esq.

*Author of the Biographical Sketches in the 'Cabinet of
Portraits,' &c.*

EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

IN TEN VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

GEORGE THE THIRD

BY ROBERT SCOTT, ESQ.

Author of the History of the reign of George the Fourth

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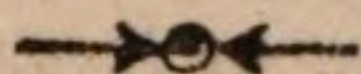
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HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.



CHAPTER I.

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WHEN the Parliament met, according to adjournment, the state of the colonies first engaged their attention, and the grand debate began on the 26th of January. An infinite number of papers relating to this subject had been read the day before; and some resolutions and an address were sent down from the Lords, declaring that the acts of the late assembly of Massachusetts's Bay, which tended to call in question the authority of the supreme legislature, were illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory of the rights of the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; that the circular letters on the subject of the late import duties, were of a most unwarrantable, dangerous, and inflammatory nature; that the town of Boston had been for some time in a state of great disorder and confusion, during which the officers of the revenue had been obstructed by violence in the discharge of their duty, and their lives endangered; and that the preservation of the peace, and the due execution of the laws, became impracticable without the aid of a military force; that all the proceedings in the town-meetings at Boston on the 14th of June and 12th of September were calculated to promote sedition; and that the appointment of a Convention, the elections of deputies by the several towns and districts for that pur-

pose, and their meeting, were daring insults offered to his Majesty's authority. In the address, the greatest satisfaction was expressed in the measures already pursued for supporting the constitution, and inducing a due obedience to the legislature; and the strongest assurances were given of effectual concurrence in such farther measures as might be found necessary to maintain the civil magistrates in a proper execution of the laws within the province of Massachusetts Bay. For the purpose of bringing the authors of the late disorders to condign punishment, it was earnestly requested, that Governor Bernard might be directed to transmit the fullest information he could obtain of all treasons committed within his government since the 30th of December, 1767, together with the names of the persons most active in the perpetration of such offences, in order that his Majesty might issue a special commission for trying the offenders within this realm, pursuant to the statute of the thirty-fifth of Henry the Eighth, in case his Majesty should, upon receiving the said information, see sufficient ground for such a proceeding.

In the opposition to the resolutions and address, the former arguments against the right and the policy of taxing the colonies were repeated, with many new ones on the inefficiency and odiousness of the revenue laws, on the absurdity of persisting in coercive measures, and on the cruelty and injustice of bringing supposed delinquents to Europe, to be tried there for crimes said to have been committed in America. The ministry, on the other hand, contended that the violent conduct of the Americans placed government under a necessity of using methods, however disagreeable to itself, yet indispensably requisite for the support of its dignity and of the legislative authority; that the repeal of the stamp-act, instead of producing gratitude and

due submission to government, had operated in such a manner on the licentiousness of the Americans, that it became highly necessary to establish some mark of their dependance on the mother country; that the late duties, so much complained of, were, for one of the reasons now objected to them, the smallness of their produce, chosen as sufficient to answer that purpose, at the same time that they were not internal taxes, and were wholly appropriated to the support of the civil establishment of the colonies; that the levelling principles which prevailed throughout Massachuset's Bay were so subversive of all order and civil government, and the conduct of the magistrates had been such, that it became highly expedient to revive and put in execution the law of Henry the Eighth, by which the King is empowered to appoint a commission in England, for the trial there of any of his Majesty's subjects guilty of treason in any part of the world; that it was ungenerous to suppose any improper use would be made of this law by harassing the innocent; and that there was no reason to question the integrity or impartiality of English juries. The arguments urged on this occasion, however, were far from justifying either the original policy, or the utility of the revenue laws. After the repeal of the stamp-act, though the rights of the mother country were not abridged, she certainly ought to have been more cautious in exerting them. An attempt to tax the colonies no longer stood upon its ancient footing of wisdom and practicability. Mr. Charles Townshend, who recommended the import duties, was too eager to put to the proof the seeming acquiescence of the Americans in Mr. Pitt's doctrine of external taxation; and he did not sufficiently consider, that the laying of duties upon British commodities and manufactures, landed in the colonies, was in effect taxing the mother country, ob-

structing the sale of her merchandize, granting premiums to excite American industry, and encouraging the contraband trade and supply from other markets. His successors in office perceived his error, and were desirous of correcting it; but they did not think it advisable to explain their intentions on that head, till the authority of government and of the legislature was fully asserted. While the resolutions and the address were before Parliament, they confined their remarks as much as possible to the necessity of enforcing due submission to the laws; and as soon as both Houses concurred in the proposed avowal of these sentiments, it was resolved in the cabinet that a circular letter should be sent by Lord Hillsborough to the governors of the different provinces, containing an engagement, as far as the ministers of the crown could engage, to procure a repeal, on the principles of commercial expediency, of the taxes on glass, paper, and colours. They were in hopes that a well-timed show of vigour in the first instance, and of lenity and condescension afterwards, would bring the colonists to a sense of their duty, and make them desist from their seditious practices, but the event did not correspond, in any degree, with these expectations.

Though the parliamentary strength of the ministry was fully demonstrated in carrying the resolutions and address by a majority of almost three to one, they were opposed with greater vehemence on a point where they thought themselves more secure. A message from the King was delivered to the House of Commons on the last day of February, acquainting them that the arrears of the civil list amounted to 513,511*l.*, and expressing his Majesty's reliance on their known zeal and affection to enable him to discharge that encumbrance. This message gave rise to a contest, which was kept up, with much warmth, for three days successively. Several mo-

tions were made for papers which might lead to a discovery of any mismanagement or profusion in the conduct of the revenue, and of the royal expenses. A review was taken of the state of the civil list and private revenues of the crown; comparisons were drawn between the income of the present and of former reigns; and it was asserted in very plain terms, that unless the most scrupulous inquiry was always made into the particulars for which such debts were contracted, an arbitrary and unlimited revenue might be gradually established, at the will of the prince, for the purpose of promoting the most pernicious measures. The chancellor of the exchequer expressed the greatest readiness to lay all the accounts and papers that were desired before the House; but said that the length of time which was requisite to prepare them, and the lateness of the session, made it necessary to be deferred to the next meeting, while decency to the King required an immediate relief of his wants. Lord North observed, that it would be ungenerous to show the smallest suspicion of a prince, who had, in his private share of the captures made during the late war, given up 730,000*l.* to the nation; and that the gratitude, not to say the justice, of the kingdom was called upon, in the loudest manner, to comply readily and gracefully with his request. In one of the debates on this subject, the division was, for the ministry, 164 against 89, and in another, 248 against 135.

The supplies, for the service of the current year, amounted to little more than six millions and a half, including the arrears of the civil list, and 400,000*l.* of the navy debts which were to be paid off. The ways and means consisted of the land and malt taxes; exchequer bills to the amount of 1,800,000*l.*; anticipations of the sinking fund for the like sum; a lottery; money due for the ceded islands and for

French prizes ; small sums in the exchequer, which were a sort of serapings from the monies issued in the war, and balances of different treasurers' accounts ; expected produce of American taxes, estimated at 30,000*l.* ; and the annual contribution of 400,000*l.* from the East India Company, whose charter was prolonged for the farther term of five years, on conditions in some respects similar to the last agreement : but the company were not allowed to increase their dividend to twelve and a half *per cent.* during this term, provided they did not, in any one year, raise it above one *per cent.* ; on the other hand, should the dividend be reduced below the present standard of ten *per cent.*, the stipulated payment of 400,000*l.* should be proportionally diminished ; and if the dividend should sink to six *per cent.*, the payment to the nation was to be wholly discontinued. The company were also bound to lend the overplus of their revenues to government at two *per cent.* Such easy and judicious provisions for the public service afforded very little room for debate ; but the spirit of altercation found sufficient exercise in the proceedings concerning Mr. Wilkes.

On the 27th of January, the day to which the hearing of that gentleman's alleged grievances had been deferred, a motion was made by the chancellor of the exchequer, and carried by a very considerable majority, that Mr. Wilkes's counsel should confine themselves to the alteration of the records, and to the charge against Mr. Webb, as the other parts of the petition had either been decided upon already, or were now under consideration by the courts below. Four days after, Wilkes proceeded with his evidence, but was totally unable to make good his accusation against Webb. The alteration of the record had been acknowledged and fully justified by Lord Mansfield in the court of King's Bench, where the practice was confirmed on the

opinion of all the judges; but Wilkes having disingenuously left out so material a circumstance in his complaint, the House agreed to a vote of censure on that part of the petition, as tending to asperse Lord Mansfield's character, and to prejudice the people against the administration of public justice.

Mr. Wilkes was also brought before the notice of Parliament on another point. Some little time before the dreadful riots in St. George's Fields, a letter had been written by Lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, to the chairman of the quarter-sessions at Lambeth, recommending an early and effectual use of the military, if the civil power were trifled with or insulted; as a military force could never be employed to a more constitutional purpose, than in supporting the authority and dignity of the magistracy. Wilkes, having by some means procured a copy of this letter, had it published at full length in a newspaper, with a preface of his own, in which the affair of St. George's Fields was termed a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project, deliberately planned and determined upon. Lord Weymouth called the attention of the Lords to this breach of privilege, and the publishers of the newspaper having acknowledged that they received the copy from Wilkes, a complaint was made to the Commons of the conduct of their member; and the matter being agitated during the inquiry into the merits of his petition, he, with his usual effrontery, not only declared himself to be the author of the prefatory remarks, but said he gloried in having brought to light that *bloody scroll*, and was only sorry he had not expressed his indignation at it in stronger terms. He even added, that he ought to have the thanks of the House for his meritorious conduct in the business. Instead of thanks, however, the House voted his introduction to the secretary of state's letter to be an insolent,

scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to inflame and stir up the minds of his Majesty's subjects to a total subversion of all good order and legal government. Next day, February the 3d, a very long debate took place on a motion, made by Lord Barrington, the secretary at war, for his expulsion. This was opposed by the united strength of the Rockingham and Grenville parties, Edmund Burke and George Grenville being the principal speakers. Though these gentlemen differed widely on some great political principles, they concurred in a dislike to many of the measures of government; but, on whatever side they spoke, their style and manner always afforded a very remarkable and amusing contrast. Burke's eloquence was splendid, copious, and animated, sometimes addressing itself to the passions, much oftener to the fancy, but seldom to the understanding; it seemed fitter for show than debate, for the school than the senate, and was calculated rather to excite applause than to produce conviction: Grenville's was plain, yet correct, manly, argumentative, trusting more to genuine candour, to the energy of reason, and the well-displayed evidence of truth, than to the rainbow colours of fine imagery, or the blaze of artificial declamation. The former, though naturally ardent, impetuous, and irascible, could enliven the dullest debate by the sallies of his wit; but he was too fond of exerting that talent on every occasion, and frequently debased it by an intermixture of low ridicule: the latter, always cool, even when attacked, and attentive to the becoming gravity as well as dignity of the senatorial character, never attempted any thing like vulgar jests, or unseasonable pleasantry. This dissimilitude of genius and character was strongly marked in the debate on Lord Barrington's motion. Burke poured forth a torrent of invectives against the folly and wickedness of the mi-

nisters of the crown; he enlarged on the dangerous consequences of the assumption and abuse of a discretionary power in the Commons; and called the proposed vote of expulsion the fifth act of a tragedy, performed by his Majesty's servants, at the desire of several persons of quality, for the benefit of Mr. Wilkes, and at the expense of the constitution. Mr. Grenville confined himself to two decisive points, the injustice and imprudence of the measure. The libel, he said, should have been prosecuted by the attorney-general. Wilkes was then undergoing the sentence of the law for other offences, and he considered him as having become, however undeservedly, a favourite with the public: it could not be denied he said, that the temper of the people had shown itself to be licentious and disorderly; that their respect for the Parliament, and confidence in their representatives were visibly diminished; and he then asked whether, under these circumstances, it was not more advisable to conciliate by mildness and discretion, than to inflame by adding fresh fuel to discontent. He hoped the ministry would consult the best guide to all human wisdom, the experience of past times; and quoted one instance of impolitic rigour, which was equally pertinent and forcible. The reverend incendiary, Dr. Sacheverell, said he, was unwisely prosecuted by this House. He became, by that means, the favourite and the idol of the people throughout England, as much, nay, more than Wilkes. The Queen herself was stopped and insulted in her chair, during the trial, with *God save Dr. Sacheverell*. The event verified a famous expression in those days, that the Whigs had wished to roast a parson, and they had done it at so fierce a fire, that they had burnt themselves; for the ministers were dismissed, and the parliament dissolved. The reverend doctor, the mob idol, when

he ceased to be a martyr, soon sunk into his original insignificance, from which that martyrdom alone had raised him. Wilkes, he said, apprehensive of the same fate, used every means in his power to provoke the House to some instance of unusual severity; his object was not to retain his seat, but to stand forth to the deluded people as the victim of violence and injustice. Whatever talents he had to captivate or to inflame the people without doors, he had none to render him formidable within those walls. He had holden forth high, sounding, and magnificent promises of the signal services which he would perform to his country in Parliament; and there were many who were ignorant and credulous enough to believe them. Whenever he should come there, he ventured to prophesy that they would be grievously disappointed. That disappointment would be followed by disgust and anger at their having been so grievously deceived, and would probably turn the tide of popular prejudice. But as soon as he should be excluded from that House, they would give credit to him for more than he had even promised. They would be persuaded that every real and imaginary grievance would have been redressed by his patriotic care and influence. There could be no doubt, he said, in the present temper of the freeholders of Middlesex, but that Wilkes would be re-elected after his expulsion. The House would probably think it necessary to expel him again, and he would as certainly be again elected. By the rules of the House, the vote for excluding him could not be rescinded in the same session in which it had passed. No alternative would therefore remain, but either to refuse issuing a new writ, and by that means to deprive the county of the right of choosing any other representative; or bringing into the House, as the knight of the shire for Middlesex, a man chosen by a few

voters only, in contradiction to the declared sense of a great majority on the face of the poll. Mr. Grenville concluded with recommending a cool and temperate conduct, and deprecated the exercise of a discretionary power, the extent of which no man knew, and the mischiefs arising from it no man could tell; but the force of his warnings could not subdue the indignation which the House felt at the insolence as well as criminality of Wilkes's behaviour; the vote of expulsion was carried by a majority of 219 against 136, and a new writ was issued for the election of a member in his room. The train of events predicted now followed in rapid succession. Wilkes's popularity increased with what was termed his persecution, and the freeholders of Middlesex confirmed their former choice of him as their representative, having, at a previous meeting, agreed to support his election at their own expense. The return being made to the House of Commons, it was resolved by a majority of 225 against 89, "that Mr. Wilkes, having been once expelled, was incapable of sitting in the same parliament, and that the election was therefore void."

Before the sense of the county was again taken, a month was suffered to elapse, in hopes that the popular ferment might be somewhat abated in that time; but the delay had a contrary effect. It afforded Wilkes's, partisans an opportunity of spreading the flame wider, and of levying contributions for his relief. At the first meeting called together for this purpose at the London Tavern, above 3000*l.* were immediately subscribed, and a committee was appointed to circulate proposals of the like kind through the kingdom, it being urged in Wilkes's favour, that as he had suffered very greatly in his private fortune, from the severe and repeated prosecutions he had undergone, it seemed reasonable that those who suffered for the public good should

be supported by the public. When the election came on again at Brentford, Mr. Dingley, a mercantile gentleman, made an offer to oppose the favourite candidate; but being very roughly handled by the populace, he thought it most prudent to retire, and Wilkes was chosen, for the third time, with the former unanimity. This election being also declared void, and a new writ ordered, Colonel Luttrell, a member of the House of Commons, had the courage to vacate his seat by the acceptance of a nominal place, in order to try his strength in a contest for Middlesex. Mr. Whitaker, a sergeant at law, ventured also to enter the lists; and another gentleman had been nominated, but did not choose to take the oaths necessary on that occasion. At the close of the poll, the numbers were for Wilkes 1143, for Luttrell 296, and for Whitaker only 5; upon which the return was made in favour of Mr. Wilkes, but was, of course, annulled by the House of Commons; and in two days after, a resolution was carried by a majority of 221 against 139, to amend the return by razing out the name of Mr. Wilkes, and inserting that of Colonel Luttrell in its place. Fourteen days having been allowed for a petition against this decision, one was accordingly presented, signed by several freeholders; which again brought the matter into warm and serious debate on the 8th of May, when the former resolution was confirmed by a still greater majority.

The right of expelling delinquents and of deciding on the validity of elections, which the Commons derived from the first principles of the constitution, and had always exercised, would be a nominal or frivolous authority, if it were not supported by the farther power of excluding such persons as they had declared to be ineligible or improper. The advocates for his expulsion argued that the right claimed by the greater part of the freeholders of

Middlesex was no other than the right of doing wrong,—the right of sending inadmissible representatives to Parliament: that, if the House were obliged by the constitution to receive all persons duly qualified, who were returned by a majority of the electors, the latter were equally bound not to return disqualified persons: and that it never could be the intention of our wise ancestors, when they took so much pains to secure to their posterity the privilege of being represented by men of their own choice, that infidels should be the guardians of our religion, beggars the protectors of our property, or convicts the framers of our laws. It had been asked, under what head of legal disability Mr. Wilkes's exclusion was to be found;—or how the electors were to know it. The reply, however, was easy: the records of Parliament would inform them. How, it was asked, had the electors learned, that judges of the superior courts could not be chosen representatives of the people? How were aliens,—how were clergymen disqualified? The House had pronounced them incapable, as the several questions arose. In the famous case of Sir Robert Walpole, who was expelled the House in 1711 for breach of trust and corruption, and re-elected for the borough of Lynn-Regis, the House resolved, that he was incapable of sitting in that Parliament, though they did not on that occasion declare Mr. Taylor, the candidate next upon the poll, duly elected. But in the case of Sergeant Comyns, who, being returned for the borough of Malden in the year 1715, had refused to take the qualification oath, the House more consistently determined, that the votes given to Comyns were lost, and that Mr. Tuffnell, next upon the poll, was duly elected: and, in the case of Bedford, in the year 1727, the House, in conformity to the decision on the contest for Malden, declared Mr.

Orlebar duly elected, though inferior by no less than 225 votes on the face of the poll, to Mr. Ongley, who was previously disqualified by holding the office of commissioner of the customs. In any instance where the decisions of the House were found to be arbitrary or unjust, the united branches of the legislature might interpose, and, by passing a law, regulate such decisions for the future; but nothing less could restrict the judicial power of the Commons in all cases of election.

The prorogation of Parliament took place on the 9th of May, the day after the final decision on the Middlesex election. In the speech from the throne, the proceedings of both Houses, during the session, were highly approved; just acknowledgments were made of their readiness, as well in granting the supplies for the service of the current year, as in enabling his Majesty to discharge the debt incurred on account of the civil government: and he exhorted them, with peculiar earnestness, to use their utmost efforts in their several counties for the maintenance of peace and good order at home. This allusion to the perturbed state of the public mind was strongly founded on fact, the ferment which had been raised by the proceedings against Wilkes, having been far from subsiding at the final decision on the return for Middlesex, which produced more general discontent than any other measure since the commencement of the reign, and afforded designing men an opportunity of increasing the popular discontents, and of insinuating into the minds of the electors at large a persuasion that they were betrayed by their representatives, that their rights were trampled upon, and the constitution wounded in the most vital part. A few well meaning, but perhaps indiscreet friends of the ministry, thought it their duty, at such a time, to exert their influence in procuring addresses from some counties and corporations where they resided, expressive of the

strongest detestation and abhorrence of the attempts lately made to spread riot, licentiousness, and disaffection through the kingdom. These testimonies of loyalty served only to stimulate the efforts of the opposite party to obtain petitions for the redress of alleged grievances, and for the banishment, as they said, of evil counsellors from his Majesty's favour and confidence. The county of Middlesex took the lead on this occasion, and was soon followed by the city of London, in which the interest of the opposition was at that time predominant. But the complaints of both were such dull, verbose repetitions of all Wilkes's stale invectives against government, that many who approved of temperate appeals to the throne, shrank from the imitation of those disgusting patterns. Thus the career of petitioning stopped short almost at the very outset, and would have been totally relinquished, if every art had not been used to efface the first unfavourable impressions, and to make the people believe that the salvation of all their rights depended on their perseverance and unanimity. By these means, and by confining most of the remonstrances to one object, the supposed infringement of the freedom of election, several counties, cities, and boroughs, were induced to join in the measure, and to implore the intervention of his Majesty's wisdom and goodness for effectually remedying that grievance. A few of them prayed in express terms for a dissolution of Parliament; but the language of the greater number was more delicate and respectful.

During this contest between addressers and petitioners, some very unpleasant advices were received from the East Indies; and, in the first moments of alarm, the company's stock fell sixty *per cent.* The immediate cause of so great a shock to their credit was the continuance of an expensive and disastrous war, in which they had been involved about the middle of the year 1767, and which was

now said to threaten the ruin of their trade, and the loss of their principal settlements. The danger was, indeed, greatly exaggerated in these representations; but the company was engaged in a contest with the most formidable enemy they had ever encountered in that part of the world. This was the famous Hyder Ally, who, by daring treachery, and one of those amazing revolutions so frequent in India, had risen from a common seapoy to the sovereignty of an extensive country on the coast of Malabar. Though his ambition increased with his power and success, yet it was always under the restraints of the soundest policy; and while he neglected no means of securing his empire, and improving the discipline of his armies, he cautiously avoided giving any offence to the company which could provoke or justify a war. On the contrary, it is asserted, that their ships were permitted to trade in his ports without molestation, and their servants had a free intercourse with his dominions, till the very moment of the rupture. He was not, however, unprepared for such an event. In addition to his own resources, he had the address to gain over to his side the Nizam of the Decan, a potentate of high rank in India, and whose territories bordered upon those of the company. But notwithstanding the number of their united forces, and the extraordinary effects of the discipline introduced by Hyder, they were defeated with great loss by Colonel Smith, near Trincomalee, on the 26th of September, 1767; after which the Nizam made a separate peace with the English, yielding up to them a considerable territory, called the Balagat Carnatic. Hyder, though deserted by his late ally, and though in the month of February following he received another very severe blow in the loss of his whole navy at Mangalore, was far from betraying any symptoms of dejection or dismay,

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During this contest between addressers and petitioners, some very unpleasant advices were received from the East Indies; and, in the first moments of alarm, the company's stock fell sixty *per cent*. The immediate cause of so great a shock to their credit was the continuance of an expensive and disastrous war, in which they had been involved about the middle of the year 1767, and which was

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but transferred the war to a mountainous part of the country, where his enemies were prevented from doing any thing decisive, and where he could avail himself of all the advantages which the celerity of his own army, composed chiefly of horse, gave him in such circumstances. At length, by a series of rapid movements, in which the company's troops were greatly harassed, and their supplies often intercepted, he wheeled round them, and rushed with desolating fury into the Carnatic. This manœuvre had all the effect he could wish. They were immediately obliged to evacuate his territories, and to retire in haste to the defence of their own and their allies. Thus he recovered, without fighting, some forts and strong posts which they had taken; and, instead of a fugitive retreating before his enemies, and unable to defend his own dominions, he came as a vindictive and haughty victor to pour destruction into theirs. His cavalry, being now let loose into its proper sphere, spread far and wide its destructive ravages; while Hyder, with his usual sagacity, avoided a general engagement, and contented himself with attacking detached parties of the English army, cutting off their convoys, and wearying them out by their own fruitless endeavours to bring him to action. Other adventurers, allured by the prospect of plunder, joined him in great numbers; some of the Mahratta princes were on the point of entering into alliances with him; and nothing less than the expulsion of the English seemed to be the object of such powerful confederacies. It was at this stage of the war, towards the close of the year 1768, that the accounts were brought away from India, which occasioned so much consternation among the company at home. Even those who knew that Hyder Ally's whole force was unable to make any impression on the English settlements, were justly apprehensive of his incursions

into the open provinces, which he laid waste, and thereby destroyed the company's principal resources for carrying on the war. Their trade, their revenue, might be materially injured, though the enemy's success were not such as to endanger their security. The progress and final issue of the war exactly corresponded with these ideas. Hyder's devastations in the Carnatic were attended with very distressing effects. The Nabob of Arcot, a stanch friend and faithful ally of the company, was nearly ruined. The income of the establishment at Madras being inadequate to its present exigencies, large remittances from Bengal became necessary; and as these were unavoidably made in a base kind of gold coin, the loss in the difference of exchange only was said to amount to 40,000*l*. A stop was also put to the usual investments from Madras to China, no silver being now stirring in the country, and the manufactures at a stand from the fear of the enemy. But the most provoking circumstance of all was the ever watchful sagacity with which Hyder baffled every effort of the company's forces, either to check his career, or to bring him to close action. The first defeat which he had sustained from Colonel Smith, in the year 1767, made him extremely cautious; and though he was tempted in October 1768, at the head of 14,000 horse, and six battalions of seapoys, to attack a detachment of 460 Europeans, and 2300 seapoys, commanded by Colonel Wood, the necessity of retreating, after an obstinate contest of six hours, afforded him another mortifying proof of the superiority of his adversaries, which no numbers, discipline, or exertions, on his part, were able to counterbalance. He therefore adhered to his predatory plan; and as he had totally laid aside the heavy, unwieldy cannon before used by the Indian princes, and took care to prevent his troops from being incumbered with bag-

gage, nothing could equal the celerity of his motions. In the month of March 1769, having given the English army in the Carnatic the slip, he suddenly appeared in force at the gates of Madras. The presidency now thought proper to enter into a negociation for peace, proposing a truce of fifty days for that purpose; but Hyder would grant a cessation of arms for seven days only, in which time articles of accommodation were signed, (April the 3rd,) and the conquests on both sides reciprocally restored. Previously to the knowledge of this event in England, the proprietors of East India stock, alarmed at its continual depression, and struck with the necessity of taking strong measures for the correction of abuses and mismanagement abroad, had determined to send out a committee of supervision to Bengal, with full authority to examine into and rectify the concerns of every department, and vested with an absolute power of control over all the servants of the company in India. Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Ford, were nominated supervisors, and sailed from England, in the Aurora frigate, the latter end of September, but, by some fatal mischance, neither they nor the vessel were ever more heard of.

The accounts brought over from America in the course of the year, though not so immediately alarming as those from the East Indies, afforded but little prospect of future tranquillity in that quarter. As soon as the joint address of both Houses of Parliament on the subject of the disorders at Boston was published in the colonies, the assembly of Virginia came to several resolutions, asserting in very plain terms the sole right of taxing themselves, the privilege of petitioning the sovereign for redress of grievances, the lawfulness of engaging other provinces to concur in such applications to the throne, and the injustice of having

accused persons sent to be tried beyond the seas, which, they said, was highly derogatory to the rights of British subjects. They ordered their speaker to transmit copies of these resolutions to the different assemblies throughout the continent, and to request their concurrence. Next day, May the 17th, on being dissolved by the governor, Lord Bottetourt, who could not connive at such proceedings, they voted themselves into a convention, and then signed an act of association against importing not only the taxed commodities, but wines and several other articles. The province of Maryland followed the example in respect to the non-importation agreement; and the North Carolina assembly adopting, by an express vote, all the other resolutions, were dissolved by Governor Tryon. The very first step taken by the general court of Massachusetts's Bay, when called together in the summer according to their charter, was to present an address to Governor Bernard for the removal of the naval and military force stationed in the town and harbour of Boston. He told them he had no such authority; and as they refused to proceed to business, while surrounded with an armed force, he adjourned the court to the town of Cambridge; soon after which, they passed resolutions similar to those of Virginia, and a vote, that the sending an armed force into the colony, under the pretence of assisting the civil power, was highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented. and unconstitutional. Being called upon by the governor to declare, whether they would or would not make provision for the troops, agreeably to the injunction of the act of Parliament, they answered, that it was inconsistent with their honour, their interest, and their duty, to provide funds for any such purpose. Upon this, the governor prorogued them to the 10th of January following, in order to give time

for the abatement of their violence, and for the operation of Lord Hillsborough's letter on the intended repeal of some obnoxious taxes. The motives by which the ministry were influenced, in resolving upon such a measure, have been already explained; and as they wished to be enabled to speak with some confidence of its probable effects, before they submitted it to the consideration of the legislature, the Parliament which was to have met in November, was farther prorogued to January.

Wilkes's long-pending action against the Earl of Halifax, and the messengers who executed the general warrants, which had been commenced in 1763, was tried before Sir John Eardley Wilmot, and a special jury, on the 13th of November, 1769. Sergeant Glynn argued, that, of all illegal outrages, this was one that required the most redress, and the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 4000*l.* damages. It had previously transpired that his Majesty's pleasure had been signified, that all the expenses attending this prosecution should be defrayed by the crown.

In the mean time, a very serious object of domestic concern exercised the vigilance and wisdom of government. A contagious distemper, which had spread its ravages among the horned cattle in the United Provinces, during the summer and autumn, broke out in England at the approach of winter, and excited very alarming apprehensions. The mortality abroad had been dreadful beyond example, almost 33,000 having been swept away by the disease in the course of five months, in the districts of North and South Holland alone. No precaution had been neglected to prevent the infection from reaching the British coast; and upon the first notice of its actual appearance, immediate directions were issued, by the advice of the privy council, for every step to be taken that appeared most

capable of checking its farther progress. The evil was so effectually stopped by these means, that many persons afterwards doubted the reality of its existence.

At the opening of the session on the 9th of January, 1770, his Majesty took notice of the endeavours he had used to check the spreading of the contagion; and recommended to Parliament the consideration of more permanent measures for securing the kingdom against so great a calamity: he then touched upon some topics concerning the disturbances in the north of Europe, the war between Russia and Turkey, occasioned by the troubled state of Poland, being still in progress, and expressed a strong hope that they would not extend to any part, where the security, honour, or interest of the nation might make it necessary for his crown to become a party: he lamented the steps taken in some of the colonies to destroy the commercial connexion between them and the mother country; and concluded with pointing out the happy consequences that must flow from their cultivating that spirit of harmony, which became those who had in view the true interest of their country.

The members of the opposition embraced the opportunity afforded by the usual motion for an address, to propose an amendment, assuring his Majesty that they would immediately inquire into the causes of the discontents in every part of his dominions. This produced long debates, which were carried on with great acrimony, but with no other effect than that of discovering a few remarkable desertions from the ministry in both Houses. The Marquis of Granby, commander-in-chief of the forces, voted for the amendment in the Commons, and recanted his former opinions in favour of Colonel Luttrell, which, he said, arose from his not

having duly considered the nice distinction between expulsion and incapacitation. The marquis's candour was warmly applauded by the party to whom he became a proselyte, and on whose account he resigned all his places, except the regiment of Blues. But he did not long enjoy their applause, as he died a few months after, with a character very amiable in private life, highly esteemed in his military profession, though without any pretensions to that political sagacity, that vigour of understanding, and extent of information, which are of so much importance in the cabinet. The ministry felt the loss of Lord Camden much more severely. He joined his friend the Earl of Chatham, who moved the amendment in the House of Lords, where, however, it was negatived by a great majority. Mr. Charles Yorke, attorney-general, son of the late Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, a man of the highest professional ability, accepted the great seal at his Majesty's request; and a patent was immediately ordered for his elevation to the peerage, by the title of Lord Morden. But in consequence of his death, which suddenly happened three days after, the seal was put into commission till the beginning of the next year, when it was given to Judge Bathurst, Lord Mansfield, in the mean time, officiating as speaker. A vacancy of the latter kind having been occasioned in the Commons, at the very same juncture, by Sir John Cust's illness, which soon terminated in his death, two candidates were put in nomination, Sir Fletcher Norton by Lord North, and the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend by Lord John Cavendish. In this trial of parliamentary strength, the minister's friend was chosen by a majority of 237 against 121. Before the end of the month the Duke of Grafton resigned, although he declared that he would still continue to support the measures of administra-

tion ; and Lord North took his place at the head of the treasury, without relinquishing his former office of chancellor of the exchequer. These changes were followed by some others. The Earl of Bristol choosing the tranquil post of first lord of the bed-chamber, vacated by the Earl of Huntingdon, the privy-seal was delivered to the Earl of Halifax : Mr. Dunning, the solicitor-general, resigned that employment to Mr. Thurlow, a barrister, then rising into consequence ; and one of the vacant seats at the admiralty-board was filled by Mr. Charles Fox, who had just begun to attract public notice by an early display of his astonishing talents.

On the day after the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, the House of Commons resolved itself into a grand committee on the state of the nation, and Mr. Dowdeswell moved, “ that the House, in the exercise of its jurisdiction, ought to judge of elections by the law of the land, and by the custom and practice of Parliament, which is part of that law.” To this motion Lord North moved, as an amendment, “ and that the judgment of this House, in the case of John Wilkes, Esq. was agreeable to the law of the land, and fully authorized by the practice of Parliament.” This was opposed, as a perversion of the meaning of the resolution ; but it was carried, on a division, by 224 against 180 voices. On the 2d of February, the day previously fixed upon by the Peers for resolving themselves into a committee, Lord Rockingham moved, “ that the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicial authority in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of Parliament, which is part thereof.” The motion was supported by the Earl of Chatham, who condemned the conduct of the House of Commons in terms of

great asperity; denominating the vote of that House, which had made Colonel Luttrell a representative for Middlesex, “a gross invasion of the rights of election, a dangerous violation of the English constitution, and a corrupt sacrifice of their own honour.” The question being put, it was resolved, that the speaker should resume the chair. The original motion having been thus evaded, Lord Marchmont moved, “that any resolution of this House, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the Commons, tending to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leading to a general confusion.” This motion, after considerable debate, was carried; but a strong and animated protest was entered against it.

On the 14th of March, Mr. Beckford, then a second time lord-mayor, attended by the sheriffs, a few of the aldermen, and a great body of the common council, with a prodigious mob, went to St. James’s, and there presented to the King what was called the *humble* address, remonstrance, and petition of the city of London. It stated, that the complaints made in a former petition remained unanswered, and that the injuries were confirmed; that the only judge removeable at the pleasure of the crown had been dismissed, for defending in Parliament the laws and the constitution; that the decision on the Middlesex election was a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship money by Charles the First, or the dispensing power assumed by James the Second; that the House of Commons did not represent the people; and that its sitting was continued for no other reason but because it was corruptly subservient to the designs of his Majesty’s ministers. The petition-

ers concluded with reminding his Majesty of his coronation oath, and with assuring themselves that he would dissolve the Parliament, and remove those evil ministers for ever from his council. His Majesty's reply strongly marked the royal displeasure; and on the following day, a motion was made in the House of Commons, for a copy of the remonstrance, as well as of his Majesty's answer. This motion was carried by a majority of almost three to one, after a warm debate, in which the lord-mayor, Alderman Trecothick one of the city members, and both the sheriffs Townshend and Sawbridge, gloried in the part they had taken in that transaction. The papers having been laid before the House, fresh debates arose on a motion for an address to his Majesty, and another for the concurrence of the Lords, to testify the extreme concern and indignation which both Houses felt at the language of the remonstrance. The address was afterwards presented to the King, who returned a most gracious answer.

In the midst of this season of heat and discussion, which in a greater or less degree was extended to every corner of the kingdom, Mr. George Grenville brought in his famous bill for regulating the proceedings of the House of Commons on controverted elections. He stated the abuses which existed, and the nature of the plan he proposed for their correction. Formerly, he observed, the trials of contested elections had been always by a select committee, chiefly composed of the most learned and experienced of the House; and while that custom continued, the litigant parties and the nation at large were generally well satisfied with the decisions. But, by degrees, the committees of elections having been enlarged, and all who came having voices, a shameful partiality prevailed: so that, by way of remedy, while Mr. Onslow was speaker, the admirable order, with which he con-

ducted himself, made such as wished for a fair trial of their cause, desire it might be heard at the bar of the House. This method, however, was found to be very defective and inconvenient. The number of the judges, which exceeded that of any other judicature in the world, and their being under no tie of oaths or honour to prevent any secret bias from operating on their minds, left full scope for the influence of friendship, importunity, and party connexion. The trying of such questions at the bar, was also an insuperable obstruction to all other public business; and especially in the first session of a new Parliament, they took up so much time, that the House could scarcely attend to any thing else. Mr. Grenville's bill for remedying these evils, proposed, that when a petition complaining of an undue election was presented, and a day appointed for hearing its merits, against which the parties were to have their witnesses ready, the House on that day should be counted, and if 100 members were not present, no other business should be gone into until that number assembled, at which time the names of the members in the House were to be put into six urns, from each of which the clerk should alternately draw a name, to the number of forty-nine: the sitting members and petitioners might also nominate one each. Lists of the forty-nine were then to be given to the sitting member, the petitioners, their counsel, or agents, who, with the clerk, were to withdraw, and to strike off one alternately, beginning on the part of the petitioners, till the number was reduced to thirteen. These, with the two nominees, were to be sworn a select committee, impowered to send for persons, papers, and records; to examine witnesses; and finally to determine the matter in dispute. This excellent bill, though opposed by some of the ministry, was carried through both

Houses with irresistible vigour, and received the royal assent on the 12th of April. At first the bill was made temporary, that in case the experiment did not succeed, it might expire of itself; but its good effects, when reduced to practice, became so evident, that, in four years after, an act was passed for rendering it perpetual. Some improvements have since been made in several of its clauses, but the principle is unalterably good; and it remains a lasting monument of the sound sense, integrity, and patriotism of its amiable author. As his parliamentary exertions ended with his life, soon after the passing of this bill, it may be properly called his last legacy to the British nation. He took a share in only one debate after, and died on the first day of the succeeding session, November the 13th, 1770.

A petition having been presented to Parliament by the American merchants, stating the great loss they sustained in consequence of the duties on goods exported to the colonies, Lord North, in the beginning of March, brought in a bill for their repeal, excepting the duty of threepence per pound on tea, with the continuance of which he thought the Americans could not be justly dissatisfied, as, when that was laid on, another was taken off by a drawback of twenty-five *per cent.* from the English duties allowed to the exporter. But his lordship's most plausible argument for retaining any part of an act which he admitted to be inconsistent with the true spirit of commercial policy, was, that a total repeal would be ascribed by the colonists, not to the goodness, but to the fears of government; and would encourage them to make fresh demands,—to rise in their turbulence, instead of returning to their duty. There was something specious, though not conclusive, in this mode of reasoning. But when his lordship, in the ardour of

debate, farther asserted, that a total repeal could not be thought of till America was prostrate at our feet, he destroyed beforehand all the favourable effects of partial concession; and his *half* advances to regain the affections of America, were unhappily converted into an insult on her feelings. This circumstance, however, did not prevent his proposal from being adopted, though it was opposed with unusual strength of numbers, as well as of argument. Governor Pownall's speech in reply, in which he endeavoured to demonstrate the inefficacy of a partial repeal, and to enforce the necessity of extending it to the whole act, made such impression on the House, that an amendment, conformable to this idea, was negatived by a majority of only 62 in a division of 346 members. About a month after, Alderman Trecothick gave the object of the amendment a new form, by moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the American duty on tea, but the question to go into the other orders of the day was carried by the ministry, on this ground, that the motion exactly aimed at doing in a bill what had before been attempted in an amendment; and that it was contradictory to a well-known rule of the House, to bring on again, in the same session, any thing which had already received a formal negative.

On the 1st of May, Lord Chatham presented a bill for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby Wilkes had been adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in that Parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middlesex had been deprived of one of their legal representatives. The bill was rejected by a majority of 89 against 43. Lord Chatham then desired that their lordships might be summoned for the 4th of May; when he moved, "that it is the opinion of the House, that the advice inducing his Majesty's

answer to the late address of the city of London, is of a most dangerous tendency; inasmuch as the exercise of the clearest rights of the subject has been thereby checked and reprimanded; an answer so harsh, as to have no precedent in the history of this country, and such as the Stuarts had never dared to venture upon in the zenith of their power." The motion was negatived by a great majority. Lord Chatham next moved for an address to the King to dissolve the Parliament. This motion was of course negatived. However, on the 1st of June, a committee, delegated by the city of London, waited on his lordship with a vote of thanks "for the zeal he had shown in support of those invaluable and sacred privileges, the right of election and the right of petition, as well as for the wishes expressed by him, that Parliaments may be restored to their original purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation."

It has been before intimated, that the arrival in Boston of some troops, towards the latter end of the year 1768, put a stop to the disorders which then prevailed there, and established what might be called a sullen and treacherous repose, rather than a perfect tranquillity. The malecontents were, for some time, awed by superior force; but this force being afterwards diminished by the departure of two of the regiments for Halifax, the spirit of turbulence and faction broke out upon several occasions. It was not, however, till the beginning of the year 1770, that any serious quarrel took place between the military and the inhabitants at Boston. The circumstances of this unfortunate affair have been described in the following manner. A private of the twenty-ninth regiment passing along a public rope-walk, on Saturday the 3d of March, was provoked, by very insulting words, to

engage a few of his comrades to fight the rope-makers. The battle being indecisive, it was agreed to renew it on the Monday after. The populace in the interim being fully apprized of the intended encounter, assembled in great numbers, armed with clubs and weapons, at the time appointed; the bells also ringing an alarm, and violent clamours of *Town-born, turn out*, being heard in all parts of the city. The mob directed its course to Murray's barracks, and dared the soldiery by very offensive language to combat, which they were with great difficulty prevented from doing by the officers. At length retiring from those barracks, the populace, having their ardour re-kindled by inflammatory harangues, took another route, and marched in different divisions towards the main-guard. Captain Preston, the officer on duty, on the appearance of the multitude, who with oaths and menaces pressed in upon the guards, advancing to the very points of their bayonets, endeavoured, by every effort, to restrain the soldiers from violence; but a party, the most furious of the populace, in sailors' habits, struck the guns down with their clubs; and a blow was aimed by one of them at Captain Preston; on which a confused noise of "Fire!" was heard; and several pieces being discharged, three or four persons were killed, and about twice that number wounded. The drums now beat every where to arms, and the townsmen assembled to the amount of many thousands: but Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson at length making his appearance, they were prevailed upon by his persuasions and assurances of legal redress to disperse, about midnight. Next morning, they collected again in vast bodies; and the lieutenant-governor assembling a council, was urged to issue his orders for the immediate removal of the troops. He said, he had no authority for that purpose, as it was vested in the general at

New York: but the council being unanimously of opinion, that it was necessary for his Majesty's service, the good order of the town, and the peace of the province, the commanding officers of the two regiments consented to withdraw them to Castle William. The ferment began to subside on their removal, and on the commitment of Captain Preston and some of his men to prison, in order to take their trial, as not having acted under the sanction of the civil magistrate. They were all honourably acquitted, except two of the privates, who were found guilty of manslaughter.

In a few days after the report of these transactions reached England, Alderman Trecothick moved for copies of all narratives of any disputes or disturbances between the troops stationed in North America and the inhabitants of the colonies, with copies also of the instructions sent out by administration relative to such disturbances. These papers, with a reserve of names, and other particulars of material secrecy, being obtained, and read on the 9th of May, Mr. Burke proposed several resolutions of censure on the late measures of government with regard to the colonies, but the first of his resolutions was negatived by a majority of 197 to 79; and the rest were lost without a division. A debate on the same subject in the House of Lords had nearly a similar issue, the question for adjournment being carried by 60 against 26. Next day, (May 19,) the business of the supplies, and some other matters of immediate exigency being satisfactorily settled, the Parliament was prorogued with the usual compliments from the throne, and with particular thanks to the Commons for having judiciously provided for discharging a considerable part of the national debt, without laying any farther burden on his Majesty's subjects.

The supplies voted for the service of the current

year, and for redeeming one million and a half of three and a half *per cent.* annuities, did not amount to quite seven millions and a half; while the ways and means were deemed sufficient, without any new tax, not only to provide for that expenditure, but to afford a surplus of 340,000*l.*

In this sketch of the most remarkable proceedings of the session, we must not omit to notice a subject which was introduced by Mr. Walsingham. It related to an extraordinary prorogation of the Irish Parliament in December, 1769. At the first meeting of that Parliament about two months before, both Houses seemed to vie with each other in their expressions of duty and gratitude to the throne, and of esteem and respect for the lord-lieutenant. They also gave a proof of their sincerity by readily assenting to a bill for the augmentation of the forces, which had failed of success at the breaking up of the last Parliament. But this sunshine of harmony between the governor and the governed was soon overcast. By the famous law passed in the reign of Henry the Seventh, under the administration of Sir Edward Poyning, and thence called Poyning's law, it was enacted, "that the lord-lieutenant and council should, under the great seal of Ireland, certify to the King and English privy council, the laws proposed to be passed in each succeeding parliament, in order to have the sanction of the great seal of England, previous to their being submitted to the Irish Parliament for its assent or dissent." The rigour of this law, which jealous policy had too long considered as the chief bond of the dependance of their sister kingdom, was a little mitigated in modern times by the practice of introducing *Heads of a Bill* into the Irish Parliament, in order, when the approbation of that assembly was obtained, to be transmitted to England under the usual forms. The old

method, however, was always revived at the beginning of every Parliament, in order to keep up the claim of the privy council, and it had been repeatedly submitted to, though not without violent altercation. In conformity to this practice, a money bill certified by the privy council of Ireland, and sanctioned by the seal of Great Britain, was brought into the Irish House of Commons, but did not meet with the usual success there. A very considerable majority maintained, that Poyning's law, and other subsequent statutes by which that law was modified and enforced, made no specific mention of money bills, which might therefore by just inference be supposed excepted. They said, if the granting of money for the support of government were not vested in the Commons, they could no longer be considered as representatives of the people, but merely as registers of the edicts of the privy council. The bill was accordingly rejected, on the ground of its not having originated in the House of Commons. This objection did not impede the national supply; another money bill being passed in the usual form with the greatest unanimity. The lord-lieutenant, though he acknowledged the liberality of the grant, protested against the right claimed by the House of Commons, and endeavoured, but in vain, to enter his protest upon their journals. The Lords, however, were not equally inflexible; his excellency's protest being, after much opposition, recorded in the journals of the Peerage. The Parliament was immediately prorogued, with some inconvenience to the public; and these proceedings having excited considerable attention in England, it was moved, in the Commons, that the instructions, in consequence of which the Parliament of Ireland had been prorogued, should be laid before the House. Lord

North opposed this motion, which was negatived by a majority of more than two to one.

On the 23d of May, four days after the rising of Parliament, the throne was assailed with another remonstrance from the city of London, lamenting the heavy displeasure under which they had fallen with his Majesty, in consequence of the sentiments expressed in their late petition and remonstrance, to which they nevertheless still adhered, and again urged the dissolution of Parliament, and the removal of his Majesty's ministers, as the only means of reparation that were left for the injured electors of Great Britain. The King, in answer, declared, that he should have been wanting to the public, as well as to himself, if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at such an address; and that he should ill deserve to be considered as the father of his people, if he could suffer himself to be prevailed upon to make any use of his prerogative, which he thought inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom. The lord-mayor, Beckford, who presented the remonstrance, and who might easily foresee the manner in which it would be received, begged leave to answer the King. In the momentary confusion which this demand occasioned, permission was granted; and, with great composure, he delivered the following extraordinary address:—

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ Will your Majesty be pleased so far to condescend, as to permit the mayor of your loyal city of London, to declare in your royal presence, on behalf of his fellow citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your Majesty's displeasure would, at all times, affect their minds; the declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety, and with the deepest affliction. Per-

mit me, Sire, to assure your Majesty, that your Majesty has not in all your dominions any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your Majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown. We do, therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your Majesty, that you will not dismiss us from your presence without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect, at least, of redress. Permit me, Sire, further to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your Majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence to, and regard for your people, is an enemy to your Majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution."

The King, who had been accused of the indecorum of laughing at the former address, now reddened with anger and astonishment, and remained in profound silence; but when the lord-mayor, a short time afterwards, went to St. James's with the customary congratulation on the birth of a princess, he was informed, "that as his lordship had thought fit to speak to his Majesty after his answer to the late remonstrance, as it was unusual, his Majesty desired that nothing of the kind might happen for the future."

The reply of Beckford, considered as an extempore effusion, conferred much credit on the abilities of the speaker, whose efforts in Parliament had been far from brilliant; but it has since been confidently asserted, that it was written for the occasion

by Horne Tooke, a man of considerable literary ability, and committed to memory for the occasion by the lord-mayor, who, though tottering on the brink of the grave, possessed an undaunted spirit and much democratic pride. He died on the 21st of June, being less than a month after this occurrence; and his political zeal was so highly popular in the city, that a statue was erected in Guildhall to his memory, on which his reply to the King is inscribed at length.

Among innumerable political publications to which the state of parties gave rise about this period, the Letters of Junius more particularly attracted the attention of the nation. They were written in a style so masterly, as to be generally considered, in point of composition, equal to any literary production in the English language; but they consisted of little more than splendid declamation and poignant invective, and discovered a cool and deliberate malignity of disposition, which, now that the passions and follies of the day have subsided, and given place to other passions and other follies, must excite disgust at least proportionate to our admiration. This writer did not hesitate, in numerous instances, to insinuate the most criminal charges against persons the most distinguished in life, and without supporting them, though frequently called upon, by even the shadow of a proof. The Princess-dowager of Wales, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Grafton, and Sir William Draper, were the principal subjects of his calumny. The most memorable of these celebrated letters is that addressed to the King, in which the writer, with equal elegance and energy of diction, exhibits to the view of his sovereign a most striking picture of his administration. "Whichever way," says he, "your Majesty turns your eyes, you see nothing but perplexity and distress. You have still an ho-

nourable part to act: Discard those little personal resentments which have too long directed your public conduct; come forward to your people; lay aside the wretched formalities of a King; tell them you have been fatally deceived. This is not a time to trifle with your fortune; the people of England are loyal to the house of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir, is a principle of allegiance equally solid and rational, fit for Englishmen to adopt, and well worthy of your Majesty's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal distinctions; the name of *Stuart* of itself is only contemptible; armed with the sovereign authority, their principles are formidable: The prince, who imitates their conduct, should be warned by their example, and, while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the throne, should remember, that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another." Upon the publication of this letter, the attorney-general filed a bill *ex officio*, in the court of King's Bench, against the publisher, Woodfall, for uttering a false and seditious libel. Lord Mansfield, in summing up the evidence, informed the jury, that the *fact of publication* was all that came under their cognizance; the question of libel or no libel being a mere question of law, to be decided by the court. After nine hours' deliberation, the jury returned their verdict "Guilty of printing and publishing *only*," which amounted to an absolute acquittal, and the defendant was discharged amidst the unbounded acclamations of the people.

The term of Wilkes's confinement having expired in April, he was discharged from the King's Bench prison, securities being given for his future

good behaviour. The committee of the supporters of the bill of rights, as they called themselves, who had received subscriptions for his relief from different parts of the kingdom, and even from America, compromised all his debts, which amounted to very near 20,000*l.* besides supplying him with 1000*l.* for his maintenance, paying off his two fines of 500*l.* each, and defraying the expenses of his three last elections for Middlesex, which did not fall much short of 2000*l.* But these were not the only fruits which Wilkes reaped from the folly of the multitude, and the ill-timed severity of government. A single glance at his farther progress will illustrate this remark. The week after his release from prison, he was admitted alderman of Farringdon Without: he then rose, at very short intervals, to the honours of sheriff in 1771, and of lord-mayor in 1775: his next care was to secure for himself the more lucrative and permanent office of chamberlain: the year 1774, he and his friend Sergeant Glynn were returned for Middlesex without any opposition: in 1780, he was re-chosen for the same county; and in 1783, upon a total change of ministry, he succeeded in a motion for having all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of the House of Commons respecting his former incapacity, and the decision in favour of Colonel Luttrell, expunged from the journals. The close of his political career did not prove quite so flattering to his vanity. When he ceased to be a supposed object of persecution, he quickly sunk, as Mr. Grenville had justly predicted, into his original insignificance. At the general election in 1790, he met with the most scornful and humiliating rebuff from that very county, and those very people, of whom he had been so long the idol; but to use his own metaphor, his nest was then so well "feathered with the pluckings of his favourite goose," that he could easily

console himself for the loss of unmerited popularity.

The tumultuous joy of the populace on having Wilkes once more let loose amongst them, and on Beckford's fancied triumph over majesty itself, had scarcely subsided, when the attention both of the public and of government was called off to an object of much greater moment, the probability of a rupture with Spain. A frigate from the Southern Ocean, which arrived at Plymouth on the 3rd of June, brought advices of a formal warning given by the Spaniards to the English to quit a settlement lately made at Falkland Islands, though sanctioned by the double right of discovery and possession. These islands, which are situated at a small distance from the southern extremity of America, were first observed by Captain Davis in the year 1592, but did not receive their present name till the reign of William the Third. They were afterwards visited by some ships belonging to St. Maloes, whence they were called the Malouines by the French, rather from an impulse of national vanity, than from any conviction of the validity of their title. The rigour of the climate, the sterility of the soil, and the exposure of all the islands on that coast to almost perpetual storms, even in the summer months, were such discouraging circumstances, that above a century and a half elapsed before any European nation attempted to make a settlement there. It was first remarked by Lord Anson, on his return from his famous voyage round the globe in 1744, that the possession of a port to the southward of the Brazils would be of signal service to future navigators for refitting their ships, and providing them with necessaries previously to their passage through the Straits of Magellan, or the doubling Cape Horn; and among other places eligible for this purpose, he specified Falkland islands.

attentive to put her West India possessions into the best posture of defence, and a formidable armament was known to be fitting out at the Havannah. Vigorous preparations were making in the French and Spanish ports at home ; and though these might have been more immediately occasioned by the jealousy arising from the progress of the Russians in the Levant, they did not appear to indicate a very friendly disposition towards Great Britain. A fire also which broke out at this juncture in Portsmouth dock-yard, supposed not to have been accidental, and which, in its consequences, might have greatly obstructed any sudden maritime efforts, was looked upon as part of a settled plan for the ruin of the British navy. It was resolved in the cabinet that firm, yet temperate representations should be made to the court of Madrid ; and orders were in the mean time issued for the manning and equipment of sixteen sail of the line. While things were in this state, the Favourite, one of the sloops which had been left at Port Egmont, arrived off the Mother-bank near Portsmouth, on the 22d of September, and brought intelligence, that soon after Captain Hunt's departure, five Spanish frigates, and some smaller vessels, with all the apparatus necessary for a regular siege, appeared before Port Egmont. Captain Farmer, the commandant, made some preparations at first to defend the place, but finding it utterly untenable, submitted, after a few shots were fired, to a capitulation, by which he and the garrison were allowed to evacuate the settlement, and to carry with them what stores they could, the governor of Solidad being made answerable for the remainder. The Spanish commodore, not choosing, however, that very early intelligence of this outrage should be conveyed to England, enjoined the two captains, Farmer and Maltby, not to sail without his permis-

sion ; and in order to ensure compliance, caused the rudder of the *Favourite* to be taken off and kept on shore for twenty days, when it was restored, and the sloop permitted to depart. The whole kingdom seemed to be inflamed with indignation at this insult on the British flag. The perseverance of the ministry in their former steady measures was too hastily condemned ; and the necessity of immediate vengeance insisted upon, without considering that a just and forcible remonstrance might induce the King of Spain to disavow the behaviour of his officer, and that a short negotiation might happily prevent the miseries and horrors of war.

The speech from the throne at the meeting of Parliament, on the 13th of November, evidently showed a desire of leaving to the Spanish court an opening for pacification. The hostility was called “an act of the governor of Buenos Ayres,” thereby giving an opportunity of disavowal. Parliament was informed that satisfaction had been demanded from the court of Spain, and that, in case of refusal, necessary preparations were making to enforce the demand, which would not be discontinued till proper reparation was obtained, as well as unequivocal proof that other powers were equally sincere with his Majesty in the resolution to preserve the general tranquillity of Europe. The addresses of both Houses on this occasion, which were warmly opposed, contained the most hearty approbation of the steps that had been taken by his Majesty, with assurances of effectual support ; supplies for the augmentation of the army and navy were cheerfully voted ; and the increase of the land-tax from three to four shillings in the pound met with no great opposition.

Though the language of the Spanish ministry, on the very first remonstrance, was condescending

and pacific, yet unexpected obstacles arose in the course of the negociation, which rendered their sincerity somewhat questionable. As the doubts of the English cabinet on this head had greatly increased before Christmas, it was deemed advisable to adjourn Parliament till the latter end of January, to allow time for determining the grand question of peace or war, and that the minister might then be enabled to announce decisively on the alternative. Lord Weymouth having resigned the office of secretary of state for the southern department, the correspondence with Spain was now carried on by his successor, the Earl of Rochford, whose place in the northern department was filled by Lord Sandwich. But the latter being soon after removed to the head of the admiralty, in the room of Sir Edward Hawke, the secretaryship for the north was conferred on Lord Halifax, who gave up the privy seal to the Earl of Suffolk. The great seal was taken out of commission, and given to Judge Bathurst, with the title of Baron Apsley; and various other promotions took place in the law departments, among which were the names of De Grey, Thurlow, and Wedderburne.

On the 22d of January, 1771, the very day the Commons met after their adjournment, Lord North informed them, that the Spanish ambassador had that morning signed a declaration, with which his Majesty was satisfied, and which should be laid before the House. The like information was communicated to the Lords by the Earl of Rochford. After the papers relative to this affair had been submitted to the inspection of both Houses, warm debates arose on the terms of the Spanish declaration which the members of the opposition asserted to be inadequate and insecure, because, though it contained an explicit disavowal of the violence used at Port Egmont, and an engagement to restore

every thing there precisely to the state in which it was before the 10th of June, 1770, it still left room for future disputes, by adding "that his Catholic Majesty did not consider this restitution as in any wise affecting the question concerning the prior right of sovereignty of the islands." Addresses of thanks and approbation were, however, concurred in by very considerable majorities in both Houses. Even if the atonement made for the aggression were not sufficiently ample, ministers would certainly have been in the highest degree reprehensible, had they involved the nation in a war for the sake of so insignificant an object as the reserved pretensions of Spain to one or two barren spots under a stormy sky in a distant quarter of the globe. The possibility of a similar dispute was precluded by the total evacuation of that settlement about three years after.

The other proceedings of Parliament during this session, which ended the 8th of May, afford very few subjects of interesting detail, the real interests of the nation being too much absorbed in the excess of party feeling. In the House of Commons, a motion was made, tending to restrain the power vested in the Attorney-General of prosecuting *ex officio*, without the intervention of a grand jury, or the forms observed by courts of law in other cases. It was argued, that as the Attorney-General is an officer removeable at pleasure, and in the way of emolument and promotion, so dangerous a power should not be lodged in his hands. Former instances were brought of an improper exertion of this authority; and of an attorney-general whose conduct had occasioned his being brought to the bar of that House, where he had no other method of exculpating himself but by showing that he was merely a passive instrument in the hands of others, and that he had received the information, which

was filed in his name, literally as it stood, from the secretary of state. It was contended in reply, that the power of the attorney-general was a part of the common law of the land, which is as ancient as the monarchy, and the basis of our popular liberty; that if its liability to be abused were a sufficient reason for its abolition, the same reason must militate against all power; and that the instance which had been adduced of an attorney-general being cognizable to that House, proved that the power in his hands could not be dangerous. The motion was negatived by a great majority. The opposition shortly afterwards moved for a committee to inquire into the administration of criminal justice, and the conduct of the judges, particularly in cases relating to the liberty of the press, and the power and duty of juries. This was also rejected after a long debate, by a majority of more than two to one.

In the House of Lords, during a debate on a motion relative to the Middlesex election, Lord Chatham took an opportunity of expressing his sentiments on the opinion of Lord Mansfield, that the question of a libel or not a libel was a matter of law to be decided by the bench, and that only the fact of printing and publishing lay with the jury. Lord Mansfield candidly and explicitly avowed the practice, at which Lord Camden expressed both astonishment and abhorrence. This attack induced Lord Mansfield to give notice for a call of the House, and when it took place, his lordship stated that he had left a paper with the clerk, containing the unanimous opinion of the court of King's Bench in Woodfall's case. Lord Camden offered to maintain that the doctrine thus laid down was not the law of England, and intimated a wish to tie the other learned lord to a legal contest on these points, but the matter went no further, to the great disappointment of the public.

A motion made in the early part of the session, by the Duke of Manchester, for an address to quicken warlike preparations, and to send, without loss of time, necessary succours to our possessions in the Mediterranean and West Indies, was attended with some disagreeable consequences. The mover was descanting on their defenceless state, particularly Gibraltar, and proceeding to expose what he called the criminal negligence of administration, when he was suddenly interrupted, and the standing order for clearing the House of strangers was enforced, in the midst of great clamour and confusion. The Earl of Chatham and seventeen or eighteen other lords were so much irritated at this measure, that they withdrew in a body. Some members of the House of Commons, who happened to be attending with a bill, were rather rudely dismissed, after they had gone through the form of its delivery. On their return to their own house, where they found most of the seceding lords, they complained of the indignity of the treatment they had met with, and caused it to be immediately retaliated, by turning out those very lords, and clearing the House of all persons who had not a right to sit there. The former intercourse of civility between the two Houses was not fully restored during the remainder of the session.

The existing law, and the known privilege of Parliament, expressly prohibited the publication of their proceedings, without special authority; yet the printers of several public papers had ventured to violate this privilege. Nothing could be more agreeable to the public than such details; but to expect them to be impartial was then evidently vain. The reporters as well as the readers were actuated by party; and the debates were not sent forth without receiving some tincture from their principles. These reports, by misrepresentation, had often

for the abatement of their violence, and for the operation of Lord Hillsborough's letter on the intended repeal of some obnoxious taxes. The motives by which the ministry were influenced, in resolving upon such a measure, have been already explained; and as they wished to be enabled to speak with some confidence of its probable effects, before they submitted it to the consideration of the legislature, the Parliament which was to have met in November, was farther prorogued to January.

Wilkes's long-pending action against the Earl of Halifax, and the messengers who executed the general warrants, which had been commenced in 1763, was tried before Sir John Eardley Wilmot, and a special jury, on the 13th of November, 1769. Sergeant Glynn argued, that, of all illegal outrages, this was one that required the most redress, and the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 4000*l.* damages. It had previously transpired that his Majesty's pleasure had been signified, that all the expenses attending this prosecution should be defrayed by the crown.

In the mean time, a very serious object of domestic concern exercised the vigilance and wisdom of government. A contagious distemper, which had spread its ravages among the horned cattle in the United Provinces, during the summer and autumn, broke out in England at the approach of winter, and excited very alarming apprehensions. The mortality abroad had been dreadful beyond example, almost 33,000 having been swept away by the disease in the course of five months, in the districts of North and South Holland alone. No precaution had been neglected to prevent the infection from reaching the British coast; and upon the first notice of its actual appearance, immediate directions were issued, by the advice of the privy council, for every step to be taken that appeared most

capable of checking its farther progress. The evil was so effectually stopped by these means, that many persons afterwards doubted the reality of its existence.

At the opening of the session on the 9th of January, 1770, his Majesty took notice of the endeavours he had used to check the spreading of the contagion; and recommended to Parliament the consideration of more permanent measures for securing the kingdom against so great a calamity: he then touched upon some topics concerning the disturbances in the north of Europe, the war between Russia and Turkey, occasioned by the troubled state of Poland, being still in progress, and expressed a strong hope that they would not extend to any part, where the security, honour, or interest of the nation might make it necessary for his crown to become a party: he lamented the steps taken in some of the colonies to destroy the commercial connexion between them and the mother country; and concluded with pointing out the happy consequences that must flow from their cultivating that spirit of harmony, which became those who had in view the true interest of their country.

The members of the opposition embraced the opportunity afforded by the usual motion for an address, to propose an amendment, assuring his Majesty that they would immediately inquire into the causes of the discontents in every part of his dominions. This produced long debates, which were carried on with great acrimony, but with no other effect than that of discovering a few remarkable desertions from the ministry in both Houses. The Marquis of Granby, commander-in-chief of the forces, voted for the amendment in the Commons, and recanted his former opinions in favour of Colonel Luttrell, which, he said, arose from his not

having duly considered the nice distinction between expulsion and incapacitation. The marquis's candour was warmly applauded by the party to whom he became a proselyte, and on whose account he resigned all his places, except the regiment of Blues. But he did not long enjoy their applause, as he died a few months after, with a character very amiable in private life, highly esteemed in his military profession, though without any pretensions to that political sagacity, that vigour of understanding, and extent of information, which are of so much importance in the cabinet. The ministry felt the loss of Lord Camden much more severely. He joined his friend the Earl of Chatham, who moved the amendment in the House of Lords, where, however, it was negatived by a great majority. Mr. Charles Yorke, attorney-general, son of the late Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, a man of the highest professional ability, accepted the great seal at his Majesty's request; and a patent was immediately ordered for his elevation to the peerage, by the title of Lord Morden. But in consequence of his death, which suddenly happened three days after, the seal was put into commission till the beginning of the next year, when it was given to Judge Bathurst, Lord Mansfield, in the mean time, officiating as speaker. A vacancy of the latter kind having been occasioned in the Commons, at the very same juncture, by Sir John Cust's illness, which soon terminated in his death, two candidates were put in nomination, Sir Fletcher Norton by Lord North, and the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend by Lord John Cavendish. In this trial of parliamentary strength, the minister's friend was chosen by a majority of 237 against 121. Before the end of the month the Duke of Grafton resigned, although he declared that he would still continue to support the measures of administra-

tion ; and Lord North took his place at the head of the treasury, without relinquishing his former office of chancellor of the exchequer. These changes were followed by some others. The Earl of Bristol choosing the tranquil post of first lord of the bed-chamber, vacated by the Earl of Huntingdon, the privy-seal was delivered to the Earl of Halifax : Mr. Dunning, the solicitor-general, resigned that employment to Mr. Thurlow, a barrister, then rising into consequence ; and one of the vacant seats at the admiralty-board was filled by Mr. Charles Fox, who had just begun to attract public notice by an early display of his astonishing talents.

On the day after the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, the House of Commons resolved itself into a grand committee on the state of the nation, and Mr. Dowdeswell moved, “ that the House, in the exercise of its jurisdiction, ought to judge of elections by the law of the land, and by the custom and practice of Parliament, which is part of that law.” To this motion Lord North moved, as an amendment, “ and that the judgment of this House, in the case of John Wilkes, Esq. was agreeable to the law of the land, and fully authorized by the practice of Parliament.” This was opposed, as a perversion of the meaning of the resolution ; but it was carried, on a division, by 224 against 180 voices. On the 2d of February, the day previously fixed upon by the Peers for resolving themselves into a committee, Lord Rockingham moved, “ that the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicial authority in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of Parliament, which is part thereof.” The motion was supported by the Earl of Chatham, who condemned the conduct of the House of Commons in terms of

great asperity; denominating the vote of that House, which had made Colonel Luttrell a representative for Middlesex, “a gross invasion of the rights of election, a dangerous violation of the English constitution, and a corrupt sacrifice of their own honour.” The question being put, it was resolved, that the speaker should resume the chair. The original motion having been thus evaded, Lord Marchmont moved, “that any resolution of this House, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the Commons, tending to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leading to a general confusion.” This motion, after considerable debate, was carried; but a strong and animated protest was entered against it.

On the 14th of March, Mr. Beckford, then a second time lord-mayor, attended by the sheriffs, a few of the aldermen, and a great body of the common council, with a prodigious mob, went to St. James’s, and there presented to the King what was called the *humble* address, remonstrance, and petition of the city of London. It stated, that the complaints made in a former petition remained unanswered, and that the injuries were confirmed; that the only judge removeable at the pleasure of the crown had been dismissed, for defending in Parliament the laws and the constitution; that the decision on the Middlesex election was a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship money by Charles the First, or the dispensing power assumed by James the Second; that the House of Commons did not represent the people; and that its sitting was continued for no other reason but because it was corruptly subservient to the designs of his Majesty’s ministers. The petition-

ers concluded with reminding his Majesty of his coronation oath, and with assuring themselves that he would dissolve the Parliament, and remove those evil ministers for ever from his council. His Majesty's reply strongly marked the royal displeasure; and on the following day, a motion was made in the House of Commons, for a copy of the remonstrance, as well as of his Majesty's answer. This motion was carried by a majority of almost three to one, after a warm debate, in which the lord-mayor, Alderman Trecothick one of the city members, and both the sheriffs Townshend and Sawbridge, gloried in the part they had taken in that transaction. The papers having been laid before the House, fresh debates arose on a motion for an address to his Majesty, and another for the concurrence of the Lords, to testify the extreme concern and indignation which both Houses felt at the language of the remonstrance. The address was afterwards presented to the King, who returned a most gracious answer.

In the midst of this season of heat and discussion, which in a greater or less degree was extended to every corner of the kingdom, Mr. George Grenville brought in his famous bill for regulating the proceedings of the House of Commons on controverted elections. He stated the abuses which existed, and the nature of the plan he proposed for their correction. Formerly, he observed, the trials of contested elections had been always by a select committee, chiefly composed of the most learned and experienced of the House; and while that custom continued, the litigant parties and the nation at large were generally well satisfied with the decisions. But, by degrees, the committees of elections having been enlarged, and all who came having voices, a shameful partiality prevailed: so that, by way of remedy, while Mr. Onslow was speaker, the admirable order, with which he con-

ducted himself, made such as wished for a fair trial of their cause, desire, it might be heard at the bar of the House. This method, however, was found to be very defective and inconvenient. The number of the judges, which exceeded that of any other judicature in the world, and their being under no tie of oaths or honour to prevent any secret bias from operating on their minds, left full scope for the influence of friendship, importunity, and party connexion. The trying of such questions at the bar, was also an insuperable obstruction to all other public business; and especially in the first session of a new Parliament, they took up so much time, that the House could scarcely attend to any thing else. Mr. Grenville's bill for remedying these evils, proposed, that when a petition complaining of an undue election was presented, and a day appointed for hearing its merits, against which the parties were to have their witnesses ready, the House on that day should be counted, and if 100 members were not present, no other business should be gone into until that number assembled, at which time the names of the members in the House were to be put into six urns, from each of which the clerk should alternately draw a name, to the number of forty-nine: the sitting members and petitioners might also nominate one each. Lists of the forty-nine were then to be given to the sitting member, the petitioners, their counsel, or agents, who, with the clerk, were to withdraw, and to strike off one alternately, beginning on the part of the petitioners, till the number was reduced to thirteen. These, with the two nominees, were to be sworn a select committee, impowered to send for persons, papers, and records; to examine witnesses; and finally to determine the matter in dispute. This excellent bill, though opposed by some of the ministry, was carried through both

Houses with irresistible vigour, and received the royal assent on the 12th of April. At first the bill was made temporary, that in case the experiment did not succeed, it might expire of itself; but its good effects, when reduced to practice, became so evident, that, in four years after, an act was passed for rendering it perpetual. Some improvements have since been made in several of its clauses, but the principle is unalterably good; and it remains a lasting monument of the sound sense, integrity, and patriotism of its amiable author. As his parliamentary exertions ended with his life, soon after the passing of this bill, it may be properly called his last legacy to the British nation. He took a share in only one debate after, and died on the first day of the succeeding session, November the 13th, 1770.

A petition having been presented to Parliament by the American merchants, stating the great loss they sustained in consequence of the duties on goods exported to the colonies, Lord North, in the beginning of March, brought in a bill for their repeal, excepting the duty of threepence per pound on tea, with the continuance of which he thought the Americans could not be justly dissatisfied, as, when that was laid on, another was taken off by a drawback of twenty-five *per cent.* from the English duties allowed to the exporter. But his lordship's most plausible argument for retaining any part of an act which he admitted to be inconsistent with the true spirit of commercial policy, was, that a total repeal would be ascribed by the colonists, not to the goodness, but to the fears of government; and would encourage them to make fresh demands,—to rise in their turbulence, instead of returning to their duty. There was something specious, though not conclusive, in this mode of reasoning. But when his lordship, in the ardour of

debate, farther asserted, that a total repeal could not be thought of till America was prostrate at our feet, he destroyed beforehand all the favourable effects of partial concession; and his *half* advances to regain the affections of America, were unhappily converted into an insult on her feelings. This circumstance, however, did not prevent his proposal from being adopted, though it was opposed with unusual strength of numbers, as well as of argument. Governor Pownall's speech in reply, in which he endeavoured to demonstrate the inefficacy of a partial repeal, and to enforce the necessity of extending it to the whole act, made such impression on the House, that an amendment, conformable to this idea, was negatived by a majority of only 62 in a division of 346 members. About a month after, Alderman Trecothick gave the object of the amendment a new form, by moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the American duty on tea, but the question to go into the other orders of the day was carried by the ministry, on this ground, that the motion exactly aimed at doing in a bill what had before been attempted in an amendment; and that it was contradictory to a well-known rule of the House, to bring on again, in the same session, any thing which had already received a formal negative.

On the 1st of May, Lord Chatham presented a bill for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby Wilkes had been adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in that Parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middlesex had been deprived of one of their legal representatives. The bill was rejected by a majority of 89 against 43. Lord Chatham then desired that their lordships might be summoned for the 4th of May; when he moved, "that it is the opinion of the House, that the advice inducing his Majesty's

answer to the late address of the city of London, is of a most dangerous tendency; inasmuch as the exercise of the clearest rights of the subject has been thereby checked and reprimanded; an answer so harsh, as to have no precedent in the history of this country, and such as the Stuarts had never dared to venture upon in the zenith of their power." The motion was negatived by a great majority. Lord Chatham next moved for an address to the King to dissolve the Parliament. This motion was of course negatived. However, on the 1st of June, a committee, delegated by the city of London, waited on his lordship with a vote of thanks "for the zeal he had shown in support of those invaluable and sacred privileges, the right of election and the right of petition, as well as for the wishes expressed by him, that Parliaments may be restored to their original purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation."

It has been before intimated, that the arrival in Boston of some troops, towards the latter end of the year 1768, put a stop to the disorders which then prevailed there, and established what might be called a sullen and treacherous repose, rather than a perfect tranquillity. The malecontents were, for some time, awed by superior force; but this force being afterwards diminished by the departure of two of the regiments for Halifax, the spirit of turbulence and faction broke out upon several occasions. It was not, however, till the beginning of the year 1770, that any serious quarrel took place between the military and the inhabitants at Boston. The circumstances of this unfortunate affair have been described in the following manner. A private of the twenty-ninth regiment passing along a public rope-walk, on Saturday the 3d of March, was provoked, by very insulting words, to

engage a few of his comrades to fight the rope-makers. The battle being indecisive, it was agreed to renew it on the Monday after. The populace in the interim being fully apprized of the intended encounter, assembled in great numbers, armed with clubs and weapons, at the time appointed; the bells also ringing an alarum, and violent clamours of *Town-born, turn out*, being heard in all parts of the city. The mob directed its course to Murray's barracks, and dared the soldiery by very offensive language to combat, which they were with great difficulty prevented from doing by the officers. At length retiring from those barracks, the populace, having their ardour re-kindled by inflammatory harangues, took another route, and marched in different divisions towards the main-guard. Captain Preston, the officer on duty, on the appearance of the multitude, who with oaths and menaces pressed in upon the guards, advancing to the very points of their bayonets, endeavoured, by every effort, to restrain the soldiers from violence; but a party, the most furious of the populace, in sailors' habits, struck the guns down with their clubs; and a blow was aimed by one of them at Captain Preston; on which a confused noise of "Fire!" was heard; and several pieces being discharged, three or four persons were killed, and about twice that number wounded. The drums now beat every where to arms, and the townsmen assembled to the amount of many thousands: but Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson at length making his appearance, they were prevailed upon by his persuasions and assurances of legal redress to disperse, about midnight. Next morning, they collected again in vast bodies; and the lieutenant-governor assembling a council, was urged to issue his orders for the immediate removal of the troops. He said, he had no authority for that purpose, as it was vested in the general at

New York: but the council being unanimously of opinion, that it was necessary for his Majesty's service, the good order of the town, and the peace of the province, the commanding officers of the two regiments consented to withdraw them to Castle William. The ferment began to subside on their removal, and on the commitment of Captain Preston and some of his men to prison, in order to take their trial, as not having acted under the sanction of the civil magistrate. They were all honourably acquitted, except two of the privates, who were found guilty of manslaughter.

In a few days after the report of these transactions reached England, Alderman Trecothick moved for copies of all narratives of any disputes or disturbances between the troops stationed in North America and the inhabitants of the colonies, with copies also of the instructions sent out by administration relative to such disturbances. These papers, with a reserve of names, and other particulars of material secrecy, being obtained, and read on the 9th of May, Mr. Burke proposed several resolutions of censure on the late measures of government with regard to the colonies, but the first of his resolutions was negatived by a majority of 197 to 79; and the rest were lost without a division. A debate on the same subject in the House of Lords had nearly a similar issue, the question for adjournment being carried by 60 against 26. Next day, (May 19,) the business of the supplies, and some other matters of immediate exigency being satisfactorily settled, the Parliament was prorogued with the usual compliments from the throne, and with particular thanks to the Commons for having judiciously provided for discharging a considerable part of the national debt, without laying any farther burden on his Majesty's subjects.

The supplies voted for the service of the current

year, and for redeeming one million and a half of three and a half *per cent.* annuities, did not amount to quite seven millions and a half; while the ways and means were deemed sufficient, without any new tax, not only to provide for that expenditure, but to afford a surplus of 340,000*l.*

In this sketch of the most remarkable proceedings of the session, we must not omit to notice a subject which was introduced by Mr. Walsingham. It related to an extraordinary prorogation of the Irish Parliament in December, 1769. At the first meeting of that Parliament about two months before, both Houses seemed to vie with each other in their expressions of duty and gratitude to the throne, and of esteem and respect for the lord-lieutenant. They also gave a proof of their sincerity by readily assenting to a bill for the augmentation of the forces, which had failed of success at the breaking up of the last Parliament. But this sunshine of harmony between the governor and the governed was soon overcast. By the famous law passed in the reign of Henry the Seventh, under the administration of Sir Edward Poyning, and thence called Poyning's law, it was enacted, "that the lord-lieutenant and council should, under the great seal of Ireland, certify to the King and English privy council, the laws proposed to be passed in each succeeding parliament, in order to have the sanction of the great seal of England, previous to their being submitted to the Irish Parliament for its assent or dissent." The rigour of this law, which jealous policy had too long considered as the chief bond of the dependance of their sister kingdom, was a little mitigated in modern times by the practice of introducing *Heads of a Bill* into the Irish Parliament, in order, when the approbation of that assembly was obtained, to be transmitted to England under the usual forms. The old

method, however, was always revived at the beginning of every Parliament, in order to keep up the claim of the privy council, and it had been repeatedly submitted to, though not without violent altercation. In conformity to this practice, a money bill certified by the privy council of Ireland, and sanctioned by the seal of Great Britain, was brought into the Irish House of Commons, but did not meet with the usual success there. A very considerable majority maintained, that Poyning's law, and other subsequent statutes by which that law was modified and enforced, made no specific mention of money bills, which might therefore by just inference be supposed excepted. They said, if the granting of money for the support of government were not vested in the Commons, they could no longer be considered as representatives of the people, but merely as registers of the edicts of the privy council. The bill was accordingly rejected, on the ground of its not having originated in the House of Commons. This objection did not impede the national supply; another money bill being passed in the usual form with the greatest unanimity. The lord-lieutenant, though he acknowledged the liberality of the grant, protested against the right claimed by the House of Commons, and endeavoured, but in vain, to enter his protest upon their journals. The Lords, however, were not equally inflexible; his excellency's protest being, after much opposition, recorded in the journals of the Peerage. The Parliament was immediately prorogued, with some inconvenience to the public; and these proceedings having excited considerable attention in England, it was moved, in the Commons, that the instructions, in consequence of which the Parliament of Ireland had been prorogued, should be laid before the House. Lord

North opposed this motion, which was negatived by a majority of more than two to one.

On the 23d of May, four days after the rising of Parliament, the throne was assailed with another remonstrance from the city of London, lamenting the heavy displeasure under which they had fallen with his Majesty, in consequence of the sentiments expressed in their late petition and remonstrance, to which they nevertheless still adhered, and again urged the dissolution of Parliament, and the removal of his Majesty's ministers, as the only means of reparation that were left for the injured electors of Great Britain. The King, in answer, declared, that he should have been wanting to the public, as well as to himself, if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at such an address; and that he should ill deserve to be considered as the father of his people, if he could suffer himself to be prevailed upon to make any use of his prerogative, which he thought inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom. The lord-mayor, Beckford, who presented the remonstrance, and who might easily foresee the manner in which it would be received, begged leave to answer the King. In the momentary confusion which this demand occasioned, permission was granted; and, with great composure, he delivered the following extraordinary address:—

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ Will your Majesty be pleased so far to condescend, as to permit the mayor of your loyal city of London, to declare in your royal presence, on behalf of his fellow citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your Majesty's displeasure would, at all times, affect their minds; the declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety, and with the deepest affliction. Per-

mit me, Sire, to assure your Majesty, that your Majesty has not in all your dominions any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your Majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown. We do, therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your Majesty, that you will not dismiss us from your presence without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect, at least, of redress. Permit me, Sire, further to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your Majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence to, and regard for your people, is an enemy to your Majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution."

The King, who had been accused of the indecorum of laughing at the former address, now reddened with anger and astonishment, and remained in profound silence; but when the lord-mayor, a short time afterwards, went to St. James's with the customary congratulation on the birth of a princess, he was informed, "that as his lordship had thought fit to speak to his Majesty after his answer to the late remonstrance, as it was unusual, his Majesty desired that nothing of the kind might happen for the future."

The reply of Beckford, considered as an extempore effusion, conferred much credit on the abilities of the speaker, whose efforts in Parliament had been far from brilliant; but it has since been confidently asserted, that it was written for the occasion

by Horne Tooke, a man of considerable literary ability, and committed to memory for the occasion by the lord-mayor, who, though tottering on the brink of the grave, possessed an undaunted spirit and much democratic pride. He died on the 21st of June, being less than a month after this occurrence; and his political zeal was so highly popular in the city, that a statue was erected in Guildhall to his memory, on which his reply to the King is inscribed at length.

Among innumerable political publications to which the state of parties gave rise about this period, the Letters of Junius more particularly attracted the attention of the nation. They were written in a style so masterly, as to be generally considered, in point of composition, equal to any literary production in the English language; but they consisted of little more than splendid declamation and poignant invective, and discovered a cool and deliberate malignity of disposition, which, now that the passions and follies of the day have subsided, and given place to other passions and other follies, must excite disgust at least proportionate to our admiration. This writer did not hesitate, in numerous instances, to insinuate the most criminal charges against persons the most distinguished in life, and without supporting them, though frequently called upon, by even the shadow of a proof. The Princess-dowager of Wales, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Grafton, and Sir William Draper, were the principal subjects of his calumny. The most memorable of these celebrated letters is that addressed to the King, in which the writer, with equal elegance and energy of diction, exhibits to the view of his sovereign a most striking picture of his administration. "Whichever way," says he, "your Majesty turns your eyes, you see nothing but perplexity and distress. You have still an ho-

nourable part to act: Discard those little personal resentments which have too long directed your public conduct; come forward to your people; lay aside the wretched formalities of a King; tell them you have been fatally deceived. This is not a time to trifle with your fortune; the people of England are loyal to the house of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir, is a principle of allegiance equally solid and rational, fit for Englishmen to adopt, and well worthy of your Majesty's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal distinctions; the name of *Stuart* of itself is only contemptible; armed with the sovereign authority, their principles are formidable: The prince, who imitates their conduct, should be warned by their example, and, while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the throne, should remember, that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another." Upon the publication of this letter, the attorney-general filed a bill *ex officio*, in the court of King's Bench, against the publisher, Woodfall, for uttering a false and seditious libel. Lord Mansfield, in summing up the evidence, informed the jury, that the *fact of publication* was all that came under their cognizance; the question of libel or no libel being a mere question of law, to be decided by the court. After nine hours' deliberation, the jury returned their verdict "Guilty of printing and publishing *only*," which amounted to an absolute acquittal, and the defendant was discharged amidst the unbounded acclamations of the people.

The term of Wilkes's confinement having expired in April, he was discharged from the King's Bench prison, securities being given for his future

good behaviour. The committee of the supporters of the bill of rights, as they called themselves, who had received subscriptions for his relief from different parts of the kingdom, and even from America, compromised all his debts, which amounted to very near 20,000*l.* besides supplying him with 1000*l.* for his maintenance, paying off his two fines of 500*l.* each, and defraying the expenses of his three last elections for Middlesex, which did not fall much short of 2000*l.* But these were not the only fruits which Wilkes reaped from the folly of the multitude, and the ill-timed severity of government. A single glance at his farther progress will illustrate this remark. The week after his release from prison, he was admitted alderman of Farringdon Without: he then rose, at very short intervals, to the honours of sheriff in 1771, and of lord-mayor in 1775: his next care was to secure for himself the more lucrative and permanent office of chamberlain: the year 1774, he and his friend Sergeant Glynn were returned for Middlesex without any opposition: in 1780, he was re-chosen for the same county; and in 1783, upon a total change of ministry, he succeeded in a motion for having all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of the House of Commons respecting his former incapacity, and the decision in favour of Colonel Luttrell, expunged from the journals. The close of his political career did not prove quite so flattering to his vanity. When he ceased to be a supposed object of persecution, he quickly sunk, as Mr. Grenville had justly predicted, into his original insignificance. At the general election in 1790, he met with the most scornful and humiliating rebuff from that very county, and those very people, of whom he had been so long the idol; but to use his own metaphor, his nest was then so well "feathered with the pluckings of his favourite goose," that he could easily

console himself for the loss of unmerited popularity.

The tumultuous joy of the populace on having Wilkes once more let loose amongst them, and on Beckford's fancied triumph over majesty itself, had scarcely subsided, when the attention both of the public and of government was called off to an object of much greater moment, the probability of a rupture with Spain. A frigate from the Southern Ocean, which arrived at Plymouth on the 3rd of June, brought advices of a formal warning given by the Spaniards to the English to quit a settlement lately made at Falkland Islands, though sanctioned by the double right of discovery and possession. These islands, which are situated at a small distance from the southern extremity of America, were first observed by Captain Davis in the year 1592, but did not receive their present name till the reign of William the Third. They were afterwards visited by some ships belonging to St. Maloes, whence they were called the Malouines by the French, rather from an impulse of national vanity, than from any conviction of the validity of their title. The rigour of the climate, the sterility of the soil, and the exposure of all the islands on that coast to almost perpetual storms, even in the summer months, were such discouraging circumstances, that above a century and a half elapsed before any European nation attempted to make a settlement there. It was first remarked by Lord Anson, on his return from his famous voyage round the globe in 1744, that the possession of a port to the southward of the Brazils would be of signal service to future navigators for refitting their ships, and providing them with necessaries previously to their passage through the Straits of Magellan, or the doubling Cape Horn; and among other places eligible for this purpose, he specified Falkland islands.

About ten years after, on his lordship's advancement to the head of the admiralty, a plan in conformity to his ideas was on the point of being carried into execution; but strong remonstrances against it being made by the King of Spain, under the old pretence of his exclusive right to all the Magellanic regions, the project, though not expressly given up, was suffered to lie dormant. It was revived in the year 1764, under the auspices of Lord Egmont, who then presided at the admiralty board, and by whose advice Commodore Anson being sent out to take possession of those islands, executed the order with the usual formalities; made a settlement; and erected a small fort in the vicinity of a commodious harbour, to which the name of Port Egmont was given. It happened that, about the same time, a settlement had also been made, and a fortress erected, by the celebrated French navigator, M. de Bougainville, on another of those islands to the eastward of the English settlement, under the name of St. Louis. But in consequence of the representations of the court of Madrid to the court of Versailles, this was yielded up in 1766 to the Spaniards, who changed its name to that of Port Solidad. Towards the close of the year 1769, Captain Hunt of the Tamar frigate, cruising off the islands, fell in with a Spanish schooner belonging to Port Solidad, and, agreeably to what he conceived to be his duty, charged the commander of the schooner to depart from that coast, as it was the property of his Britannic Majesty. The schooner obeyed; but soon returned with an officer on board, bringing with him a letter from the governor of Buenos Ayres, addressed to Captain Hunt, in which the governor in his turn warned the captain to depart from a coast belonging to the King of Spain; but on the supposition that Captain Hunt's touching at these islands was merely

accidental, the governor expressed his earnest desire to show him all possible civilities. Captain Hunt, in reply, again asserted his sovereign's right with some warmth, and threatened to fire into the Spanish schooner, upon her attempting to enter the harbour. This produced a long altercation by letters between the captain and governor, during which two Spanish frigates, with troops on board for their settlement, arrived at Port Egmont, under pretence of wanting water. The commander-in-chief wrote to Captain Hunt, expressing great surprise at seeing the usual appearances of an English settlement there, charging him with a violation of the last peace, and protesting against the act in all its parts, at the same time declaring, that he would abstain from any other proceeding till he had acquainted his Catholic Majesty with this disagreeable transaction. Captain Hunt repeated his former arguments on the question of right; but as soon as the Spanish frigates, after receiving a supply of water, proceeded on their course, he set sail for England, in order to inform government of what had taken place, not thinking it advisable to run any farther risk on his own authority. Two small sloops, the *Favourite*, Captain Maltby, and the *Swift*, Captain Farmer, formed the whole force that remained upon the station; and the latter of these was soon after overset in the Straits of Magellan, but the captain and the rest of the crew, except three, were fortunately saved.

When Captain Hunt's advices were laid before the public, they excited no small alarm; for though the Spaniards had not made use of any hostile menaces in direct terms, yet their warning him to quit that coast was generally considered as preparatory to a formal declaration of war. This opinion was further strengthened by a variety of other circumstances. Spain had been for some time very

attentive to put her West India possessions into the best posture of defence, and a formidable armament was known to be fitting out at the Havannah. Vigorous preparations were making in the French and Spanish ports at home ; and though these might have been more immediately occasioned by the jealousy arising from the progress of the Russians in the Levant, they did not appear to indicate a very friendly disposition towards Great Britain. A fire also which broke out at this juncture in Portsmouth dock-yard, supposed not to have been accidental, and which, in its consequences, might have greatly obstructed any sudden maritime efforts, was looked upon as part of a settled plan for the ruin of the British navy. It was resolved in the cabinet that firm, yet temperate representations should be made to the court of Madrid ; and orders were in the mean time issued for the manning and equipment of sixteen sail of the line. While things were in this state, the Favourite, one of the sloops which had been left at Port Egmont, arrived off the Mother-bank near Portsmouth, on the 22d. of September, and brought intelligence, that soon after Captain Hunt's departure, five Spanish frigates, and some smaller vessels, with all the apparatus necessary for a regular siege, appeared before Port Egmont. Captain Farmer, the commandant, made some preparations at first to defend the place, but finding it utterly untenable, submitted, after a few shots were fired, to a capitulation, by which he and the garrison were allowed to evacuate the settlement, and to carry with them what stores they could, the governor of Solidad being made answerable for the remainder. The Spanish commodore, not choosing, however, that very early intelligence of this outrage should be conveyed to England, enjoined the two captains, Farmer and Maltby, not to sail without his permis-

sion ; and in order to ensure compliance, caused the rudder of the *Favourite* to be taken off and kept on shore for twenty days, when it was restored, and the sloop permitted to depart. The whole kingdom seemed to be inflamed with indignation at this insult on the British flag. The perseverance of the ministry in their former steady measures was too hastily condemned ; and the necessity of immediate vengeance insisted upon, without considering that a just and forcible remonstrance might induce the King of Spain to disavow the behaviour of his officer, and that a short negotiation might happily prevent the miseries and horrors of war.

The speech from the throne at the meeting of Parliament, on the 13th of November, evidently showed a desire of leaving to the Spanish court an opening for pacification. The hostility was called “an act of the governor of Buenos Ayres,” thereby giving an opportunity of disavowal. Parliament was informed that satisfaction had been demanded from the court of Spain, and that, in case of refusal, necessary preparations were making to enforce the demand, which would not be discontinued till proper reparation was obtained, as well as unequivocal proof that other powers were equally sincere with his Majesty in the resolution to preserve the general tranquillity of Europe. The addresses of both Houses on this occasion, which were warmly opposed, contained the most hearty approbation of the steps that had been taken by his Majesty, with assurances of effectual support ; supplies for the augmentation of the army and navy were cheerfully voted ; and the increase of the land-tax from three to four shillings in the pound met with no great opposition.

Though the language of the Spanish ministry, on the very first remonstrance, was condescending

and pacific, yet unexpected obstacles arose in the course of the negociation, which rendered their sincerity somewhat questionable. As the doubts of the English cabinet on this head had greatly increased before Christmas, it was deemed advisable to adjourn Parliament till the latter end of January, to allow time for determining the grand question of peace or war, and that the minister might then be enabled to announce decisively on the alternative. Lord Weymouth having resigned the office of secretary of state for the southern department, the correspondence with Spain was now carried on by his successor, the Earl of Rochford, whose place in the northern department was filled by Lord Sandwich. But the latter being soon after removed to the head of the admiralty, in the room of Sir Edward Hawke, the secretaryship for the north was conferred on Lord Halifax, who gave up the privy seal to the Earl of Suffolk. The great seal was taken out of commission, and given to Judge Bathurst, with the title of Baron Apsley; and various other promotions took place in the law departments, among which were the names of De Grey, Thurlow, and Wedderburne.

On the 22d of January, 1771, the very day the Commons met after their adjournment, Lord North informed them, that the Spanish ambassador had that morning signed a declaration, with which his Majesty was satisfied, and which should be laid before the House. The like information was communicated to the Lords by the Earl of Rochford. After the papers relative to this affair had been submitted to the inspection of both Houses, warm debates arose on the terms of the Spanish declaration which the members of the opposition asserted to be inadequate and insecure, because, though it contained an explicit disavowal of the violence used at Port Egmont, and an engagement to restore

every thing there precisely to the state in which it was before the 10th of June, 1770, it still left room for future disputes, by adding "that his Catholic Majesty did not consider this restitution as in any wise affecting the question concerning the prior right of sovereignty of the islands." Addresses of thanks and approbation were, however, concurred in by very considerable majorities in both Houses. Even if the atonement made for the aggression were not sufficiently ample, ministers would certainly have been in the highest degree reprehensible, had they involved the nation in a war for the sake of so insignificant an object as the reserved pretensions of Spain to one or two barren spots under a stormy sky in a distant quarter of the globe. The possibility of a similar dispute was precluded by the total evacuation of that settlement about three years after.

The other proceedings of Parliament during this session, which ended the 8th of May, afford very few subjects of interesting detail, the real interests of the nation being too much absorbed in the excess of party feeling. In the House of Commons, a motion was made, tending to restrain the power vested in the Attorney-General of prosecuting *ex officio*, without the intervention of a grand jury, or the forms observed by courts of law in other cases. It was argued, that as the Attorney-General is an officer removeable at pleasure, and in the way of emolument and promotion, so dangerous a power should not be lodged in his hands. Former instances were brought of an improper exertion of this authority; and of an attorney-general whose conduct had occasioned his being brought to the bar of that House, where he had no other method of exculpating himself but by showing that he was merely a passive instrument in the hands of others, and that he had received the information, which

was filed in his name, literally as it stood, from the secretary of state. It was contended in reply, that the power of the attorney-general was a part of the common law of the land, which is as ancient as the monarchy, and the basis of our popular liberty; that if its liability to be abused were a sufficient reason for its abolition, the same reason must militate against all power; and that the instance which had been adduced of an attorney-general being cognizable to that House, proved that the power in his hands could not be dangerous. The motion was negatived by a great majority. The opposition shortly afterwards moved for a committee to inquire into the administration of criminal justice, and the conduct of the judges, particularly in cases relating to the liberty of the press, and the power and duty of juries. This was also rejected after a long debate, by a majority of more than two to one.

In the House of Lords, during a debate on a motion relative to the Middlesex election, Lord Chatham took an opportunity of expressing his sentiments on the opinion of Lord Mansfield, that the question of a libel or not a libel was a matter of law to be decided by the bench, and that only the fact of printing and publishing lay with the jury. Lord Mansfield candidly and explicitly avowed the practice, at which Lord Camden expressed both astonishment and abhorrence. This attack induced Lord Mansfield to give notice for a call of the House, and when it took place, his lordship stated that he had left a paper with the clerk, containing the unanimous opinion of the court of King's Bench in Woodfall's case. Lord Camden offered to maintain that the doctrine thus laid down was not the law of England, and intimated a wish to tie the other learned lord to a legal contest on these points, but the matter went no further, to the great disappointment of the public.

A motion made in the early part of the session, by the Duke of Manchester, for an address to quicken warlike preparations, and to send, without loss of time, necessary succours to our possessions in the Mediterranean and West Indies, was attended with some disagreeable consequences. The mover was descanting on their defenceless state, particularly Gibraltar, and proceeding to expose what he called the criminal negligence of administration, when he was suddenly interrupted, and the standing order for clearing the House of strangers was enforced, in the midst of great clamour and confusion. The Earl of Chatham and seventeen or eighteen other lords were so much irritated at this measure, that they withdrew in a body. Some members of the House of Commons, who happened to be attending with a bill, were rather rudely dismissed, after they had gone through the form of its delivery. On their return to their own house, where they found most of the seceding lords, they complained of the indignity of the treatment they had met with, and caused it to be immediately retaliated, by turning out those very lords, and clearing the House of all persons who had not a right to sit there. The former intercourse of civility between the two Houses was not fully restored during the remainder of the session.

The existing law, and the known privilege of Parliament, expressly prohibited the publication of their proceedings, without special authority; yet the printers of several public papers had ventured to violate this privilege. Nothing could be more agreeable to the public than such details; but to expect them to be impartial was then evidently vain. The reporters as well as the readers were actuated by party; and the debates were not sent forth without receiving some tincture from their principles. These reports, by misrepresentation, had often

given offence to members, but to restrain them was a matter of no small difficulty. The persons aggrieved might indeed have recourse to the courts of law; but this was always tedious, and in its issue uncertain. Recourse might also be had to the privilege of Parliament, and offenders might be called to the bar of the House, a practice which, though unpopular, was more frequently resorted to.

Formal complaints having at length been made in the House of Commons against two of the printers, Wheble and Thompson, they were summoned to appear at the bar of the House. As they took no notice of this summons, a second order was issued and declared to be final; but no more regard being paid to the second order than to the first, a motion was made and agreed to, that they should be taken into the custody of the sergeant at arms; the parties, however, having absconded, a proclamation appeared offering a reward of 50*l.* for apprehending them. In the mean time, six other printers were for similar offences summoned to the bar of the House, five of whom, obeying the summons, were reprimanded and discharged; and the other, named Millar, was ordered to be taken into custody for contempt of the notice given him. Wheble being apprehended in consequence of the proclamation, and carried before Wilkes, the sitting alderman at Guildhall, was discharged, and bound over to prosecute the person who apprehended him. Thompson was also apprehended, and discharged in the same manner by Alderman Oliver. Millar, being taken into custody by the messenger of the House of Commons at his own dwelling, was carried before the lord-mayor, Brass Crosby, and the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, at the Mansion-house. The deputy sergeant at arms attending to demand the prisoner, the legality of the warrant was denied, and the printer not only discharged, but the mes-

senger of the House, on pretext of a false arrest, ordered to be committed to prison, in default of bail, which was at first refused, but at length reluctantly given. The thanks of the corporation of London were voted to the three magistrates; but two of them, the lord-mayor and Alderman Oliver, being members of the House of Commons, incurred its severest censure for such a daring opposition to its authority. Every part of their proceedings was voted to be a breach of privilege; the lord-mayor's clerk, having attended with the minute book, was obliged to erase the recognisance of Whittam the messenger; and, after several hearings on the subject, the two magistrates resolutely persisting in the justification of their conduct, they were committed prisoners to the Tower. Wilkes had also been ordered to appear at the bar of the House; but in a letter which he addressed to the speaker, he said he could attend only in his place as member for Middlesex. The House, unwilling to give him fresh consequence by a renewal of former severities, ordered another summons for the 8th of April, and at the same time appointed the ninth as the first day of meeting after the Easter recess, a mode of escape to which they could only have been driven under the pressure of extreme difficulty. The lord-mayor and Mr. Oliver remained in the Tower till the rising of Parliament, when their liberation was celebrated by the tumultuous rejoicings of the populace. A committee of the House of Commons, which had long sat on the matter of privilege, on bringing in its report, only recommended that Millar should again be taken into custody by the sergeant at arms. The report was successfully ridiculed by Mr. Burke, and a motion of thanks to the committee made in such a burlesque style, that Lord North moved an adjournment. No further attempt was made against Mil-

lar, and from this period the publishers of newspapers, and other periodical works, have been in the constant habit of detailing the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament.

Among the bills that received the royal assent on the last day of the session, there were two which particularly engaged the attention of the public. One was a bill for disfranchising eighty-one electors of New Shoreham in Sussex, and for extending the right of voting to the contiguous rape of Bramber, &c. It appeared in evidence before the select committee, appointed under the Grenville act to try the merits of the late election for this borough, that a great number of the freemen had formed themselves into a society under the name of "the Christian Club." This Christian club, notwithstanding its pious appellation, was merely a junto, appointed to dispose of the borough to the highest bidder. These agents of corruption did not vote themselves, but gave the necessary orders to the rest of the society; and, after the election was decided, the profits were shared equally amongst the whole. The bill for incapacitating all the members of such an infamous club was highly and deservedly applauded.

The other bill above alluded to, though its object was of the most evident utility, was added by the corporation of London to their catalogue of grievances. It was an act for enabling certain persons to enclose and embank part of the river Thames adjoining to Durham Yard, &c. All who had an opportunity of examining the good effect of this embankment, in improving the navigation of the river, increasing the rapidity of the stream, and, above all, laying the foundation of that magnificent pile of buildings, called the Adelphi, could not but feel astonishment, that a body of men, assuming the title of patriots, could have violently opposed

its progress through both Houses, and exerted their influence to procure petitions against it as an invasion of the property claimed by the city in the soil or bed of the river, stating that it was an act which tended not only to increase, but to "justify the general want of confidence in the Parliament."

After Beckford's death, Crosby, Sawbridge, Townsend, Wilkes, and Oliver, succeeded to the ostensible direction of all the city proceedings. In the first month of Crosby's mayoralty, another remonstrance in the usual strain, being the third in the same year, was agreed to, and, among the former complaints and requests, it said, that the good effects of his Majesty's innate goodness had been intercepted by a fatal conspiracy of malevolent influence round the throne. The King, however, told the remonstrants, that he had no reason to alter the opinion expressed in his answer to their last addresses on the subject. At the beginning of Crosby's mayoralty, the manning of the navy, on the eve of an expected rupture with Spain, was the first and most important concern of the state, but he refused to back the press-warrants issued for that purpose, stating that the ready concurrence of his official predecessors in the like measures did not remove his doubts of the legality of the practice, and that the city bounty for the encouragement of seamen was intended to prevent such violences. Alderman Wilkes had just before discharged an impressed man, though the constant theme of declamation was "the rotten condition of the navy, the defenceless state of the British dominions, and the inevitable necessity of going to war." During the debates in Parliament on the conduct of the lord-mayor and Oliver, all the avenues to the House were frequently crowded with turbulent mobs, and the lives of several of the ministry were endangered. After their commitment to the Tower,

writs of *habeas corpus* were obtained for them, rather to flatter their vanity by triumphal or riotous processions to and from Westminster Hall, than with any hope of their being discharged by the judges, as it was known that no court of law could interfere with the constitutional authority of the House over its own members. Their release at the close of the session was celebrated by acts of outrage; and at the Midsummer election of sheriffs, the citizens were easily induced to give their assent to a fourth remonstrance, recapitulating the old grievances; charging the House of Commons with some new acts of wickedness and injustice, particularly the imprisonment of the two city magistrates, the erasure of Wittam's recognisance, and the embankment at Durham Yard; and praying for the speedy dissolution of Parliament, and for the removal of his Majesty's wicked and despotic ministers. It was intended that all the livery should go along with the lord-mayor to deliver it, but on the 9th of July, the day before his lordship was to proceed to St. James's at their head, he received notice from the lord chamberlain, that it being unprecedented as well as impracticable to introduce so numerous a body, no person beyond the number allowed by law could be admitted; and his lordship, with the usual attendants, presented the remonstrance next day, which the King answered with cool and dignified firmness. "I shall ever be ready," said he, "to exert my prerogative, as far as I can constitutionally, in redressing any real grievances of my subjects; and the city of London will always find me disposed to listen to any of their well-founded complaints: it is therefore with concern that I see a part of my subjects still so far misled and deluded, as to renew, in such reprehensible terms, a request, with which, I have repeatedly declared, I cannot comply."

No change took place during the recess in any of the departments of administration, except those that proceeded from the death of the Earl of Halifax, and of Lord Strange, both of which happened not long after the rising of Parliament; the Earl of Suffolk was appointed secretary of state for the northern department, in the room of the Earl of Halifax; and the Duke of Grafton, returning into office, accepted of the privy seal. Lord Hyde succeeded Lord Strange as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Every thing seemed now to promise ministry both tranquillity and permanence; but the blessings of a favourable harvest, a flourishing state of arts and commerce, and an exemption from the calamities of war, pestilence, and famine, which then laid waste many other parts of Europe, were considerably allayed towards the end of the year, in consequence of very heavy rains which fell in November, and which occasioned, particularly in the northern counties, a more terrible inundation than had been experienced there within the memory of man. One of its most extraordinary effects took place on the borders of Scotland, about ten miles north of Carlisle. A great part of Solway Moss, to the extent of 400 or 500 acres, began to swell by the inundation, and rose to such a height above the level, that at last it rolled forward with irresistible force, sweeping along houses, trees, and great numbers of sheep and cattle. It continued its slow motion for several days, and then dividing itself into a variety of little islands from two to twelve or fifteen feet in depth, it totally changed the face of the country where it lodged, and gave to a large tract of once arable land all the appearance of a natural bog. A detail of its ravages would serve only to excite the most painful emotions, and it is enough to say that Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, exhibited, for a few days,

nothing but scenes of distress and horror. The usual characteristic humanity of the British nation was exerted in affording relief to the sufferers.

It has been already hinted, that the spirit of religious intolerance had kindled the flames of a civil war in Poland; and that the neighbouring powers of Russia and Turkey soon after engaged, not merely as parties, but as principals, in the dreadful contest. The usual commotions attending the election of a king in that unsettled country had scarcely subsided, when new troubles arose from a variety of rigorous measures put in force against the dissidents, a name there given to the members of the Greek and reformed churches. The grievances of which they complained were deemed the more intolerable, as being in direct violation not only of their natural rights, but of the most express and solemn conventions. In the year 1563, a law was enacted at the diet of Wilna, under the sanction of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the hereditary Kings of Poland, declaring, that all the professors of the Christian religion, without distinction or exception, should, according to their rank and merit, be eligible to the several posts and dignities of the state. After Sigismund's death, when the political constitution of the country was changed, and the crown became elective, the same liberality of religious sentiments still prevailed; and a perpetual peace between the Greeks, the Roman Catholics, and the Protestants, was established in the famous diet of 1573, as a fundamental law of the republic. But the posterity of those illustrious Poles too soon lost sight of the politic, humane, and noble precedent that was set them by their fathers. The Roman Catholics obtained by degrees the ascendancy, and the exclusive possession of government; in consequence of which all persons of a different persuasion were made to feel the double yoke of civil

and spiritual tyranny. After many struggles and vicissitudes of fortune, their rights and privileges were at length completely restored to the dissidents in the year 1660, by the treaty of Oliva, to which England and the other mediating powers became guarantees. Nevertheless, under the two last kings of the Protestant house of Saxony, who, having turned Papists, affected to be very zealous for the religion they had embraced, the oppressions of the dissidents re-commenced; and notwithstanding the wisdom and moderation of their sovereign, and the strong remonstrances of the courts of Berlin, Petersburg, Denmark, and Great Britain, the most severe and unjust decrees passed against them. By one of these they were declared traitors to their country, if they should implore the intercession even of any of those powers who had been guarantees to the treaty of Oliva. Thus shut out from every hope of redress, and conceiving themselves devoted to destruction, they at length flew to arms, and the whole kingdom, divided into opposite confederacies, became, for a succession of years, a scene of horror, calamity, and desolation; nor would the blind rage of civil and religious discord permit the Poles to perceive that, by these senseless and horrid contentions, they were exhausting the vital strength of their country, and offering themselves up an easy prey to the rapacity of foreign invaders. The artful and ambitious Catharine knew too well how to profit by their infatuation. Under the plausible show of protecting the dissidents, and of adhering with honour to the stipulations of former treaties, she sent her troops into Poland; and while she seemed only to oppose the unjust authority claimed by one body of citizens over another, her secret aim was to enslave both, and to render the whole country a province dependant on the Russian empire. It was impossi-

ble for the Grand Seignior, who had long regarded the growing greatness of Russia with anxious and envious apprehension, to remain a tame and silent spectator of her alarming interference in the troubles of Poland. His assistance was also pressingly solicited by many of the Polish nobility, who, it is said, held out the most inviting offers of submission to his government, if he would espouse their cause. He did not, however, precipitately engage in so dangerous a quarrel, but made repeated demands to the court of Petersburg, to withdraw her armies from the territories of the republic, and to maintain that neutrality which the Porte itself had religiously observed. These remonstrances produced only vague and evasive declarations; and in the frequent conflicts which took place between the Russian troops and the Catholic confederates, near the borders of the Turkish empire, the rights of sovereignty were occasionally violated, and many causes of complaint occurred. At length matters were brought to a crisis by the sack of the town of Balta in Lesser Tartary, to which a party of the confederates had fled for refuge, and which was immediately attacked and carried sword in hand by the Russians, who massacred great numbers of the inhabitants. In a few days after the intelligence of this affair reached Constantinople, an extraordinary meeting of the divan was held, at which the Russian ambassador, who had been invited to attend, was required to sign articles, importing satisfaction for the injuries sustained, and the immediate withdrawing of the Russian troops from Poland. On his refusal, he was committed prisoner to the Castle of the Seven Towers in the latter end of October, 1768; and hostilities, which were only suspended by the rigours of the season, began very early in the ensuing spring.

It would be deviating too far from our plan to

attempt even a summary of the events of a war, which, from distance of situation and remoteness of interest, had little immediate effect on Great Britain. It lasted about six years, and exhibited, during that time, an almost continued series of triumphs on the part of the Russians. After the reduction of the provinces north of the Danube, they crossed that great river, and carried their victorious arms into the very heart of the Turkish dominions. Their efforts at sea were no less extraordinary. One of their fleets issued from the bottom of the Baltic, to shake the remotest parts of the Mediterranean, to intercept the trade of the Levant, to excite and support the insurrection of the Greek Christians, and to leave nothing in any part of the vast empire of enemies free from alarm and confusion. As the principal success of this enterprise, which astonished all Europe, was owing to the skill and intrepidity of an English officer, it may, on that account, be entitled to particular notice in English history. An action, very decisive in its consequences, took place between the Russian and Turkish fleets in the Archipelago on the 5th of July, 1770. The Turks, though greatly superior in force, and with peculiar advantages of situation, could hardly sustain the fury of the conflict till night; and then cutting their cables, imprudently ran for safety into a little bay on the coast of Natio-
lia. The Russian fleet surrounded them next morning, and the utmost dispatch was used in preparing four fire-ships, whose operations were intended to take effect the following night. This, however, being a service with which the Russians were not acquainted, and which they showed great backwardness to engage in, an English lieutenant, named Dugdale, undertook the management of the fire-ships; and Commodore Greig, another officer of the same nation, with equal spirit offered his ser-

vices to command four ships and two frigates that were to cover them. The commodore engaged the enemy about midnight, at the distance of 400 yards, and at one o'clock Lieutenant Dugdale ran in with the fire-ships, but the sailors dreaded so much the result of an operation which they did not comprehend, that when the lieutenant's fire-ship was within a few yards of their object, the man at the helm deserted it, and with the whole crew jumped into the boat, and totally abandoned him. The lieutenant, seeing a boat full of Turks ready to board him before he had quite reached the ship, fired the fusee with his pistol, and though he was terribly burnt and nearly blown up by some loose gunpowder that lay on the deck, he ran forward and hooked the cable of the Turkish ship, so that the fire was immediately communicated to her. He then jumped into the sea, and was saved, though with great difficulty. The fire took place so effectually, that in five hours the whole fleet, except one man of war and a few gallies that were towed off by the Russians, was totally destroyed. The lieutenant was rewarded with the command of the captured ship, and Commodore Greig was promoted to the rank of admiral.

In the midst of so many disasters by sea and land, the Turkish government was convulsed by revolts and conspiracies, and that dreadful visitation, the plague, added its most cruel ravages to those of the sword. The enormous fabric of that ill-compacted empire seemed tottering to its fall, when a peace was obtained on the humiliating terms of ceding to Russia the whole country between the Bog and the Nieper; of consenting to the absolute independency of the Crimea; and of allowing to the shipping of Russia a free navigation in all the Turkish seas, including the passage of the Dardanelles. The treaty was signed on the 21st of July, 1774. The King of

Prussia and the Emperor of Germany, whom natural jealousy, as well as policy, would otherwise have prompted to oppose so alarming an extension of the Russian power, had been previously bribed into acquiescence, not by a promised share of the spoils of Turkey, but by the dismemberment of Poland, and the appropriation of such of its provinces as were best suited to their purpose, by lying contiguous to their respective territories. In 1764, both the Empress of Russia and the King of Prussia signed with their own hands separate acts of renunciation, by which they not only disclaimed all pretensions to any part of Poland, but solemnly engaged to guaranty its rights and territories against every power whatever: and in the beginning of the year 1771, the Empress-queen of Hungary wrote a letter to the King of Poland, in which she gave him the strongest assurances, that she had never entertained a thought of seizing any part of his dominions, nor would even suffer any other power to do it; but all those declarations and assurances were forgotten as soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself for dismembering that helpless and devoted country. In February, 1772, the fatal treaty of partition was signed; and in September, having been hitherto kept secret, it was declared to Poland and Europe. The unfortunate Poles appealed in vain to the courts of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the States-general of Holland, on the atrocious perfidy and injustice of these proceedings. After some unavailing remonstrances, the diet was compelled, at the point of the bayonet, to sign a treaty for the formal cession of the several districts which the three usurpers had fixed upon and guarantied to each other.

CHAPTER IX.

Meeting of Parliament—Augmentation of the Navy—Provision Bills and other measures—Committee on East India affairs—Petition against subscription to the thirty-nine Articles—Dormant claims of the Church—Royal Marriage Act—Death of the King's mother—His sister, the Queen of Denmark, falls a victim to the intrigues of the Queen Dowager—Revolution in Sweden—Changes in the ministry—Meeting of Parliament—East India affairs—Provision Bills—Gold Coin—Toleration Act—Half-pay Captains of the Navy—Debate on the Caribbs—Close of the session—Discontents in the American Colonies—Meeting of Parliament—Message respecting America—Measures pursued for maintaining the authority of the mother country—Effects of the Boston Port Bill, and of the subsequent proceedings of the General Congress at Philadelphia—Dissolution of the British Parliament, and meeting of the new one—Death of Louis the Fifteenth and Pope Ganganelli.

As there was no urgent business which required an early attendance, Parliament was not assembled till the 21st of January, 1772, when they were informed, in a speech from the throne, that the King of Spain's performance of his engagements in restoring Port Egmont and Falkland's Island, and the assurances received of the pacific disposition of that court, as well as of other powers, promised the continuance of peace. The propriety of maintaining a respectable naval force was at the same time suggested; but great pleasure was expressed at finding that there would be no necessity to ask any

extraordinary aid for that purpose. The addresses in both Houses were carried unanimously.

The first business of importance, was a motion in the Commons, on the 29th of January, for voting 25,000 seamen for the service of the current year. As a reason for this augmentation it was advanced, that the French having sent a considerable fleet to the East Indies, it was necessary to increase our naval force in that quarter; that on account of the late differences with Spain, a larger squadron than usual was employed for the protection of the West India islands; and that the war between the Russians and Turks had caused a greater number of ships to be occupied in protecting our trade in the Mediterranean than had been usual in the time of peace. A farther argument was derived from the very improved state in which the establishment of guard-ships had been placed, which was now such that twenty of the best ships in the navy were kept in complete condition, and so nearly manned, that a slight press would at any time enable them to put to sea in a few days. The motion was agreed to without a division. In the debate, ministers were charged with inconsistency in accompanying a speech, breathing nothing but peace, with all the actual preparations for war; the apprehensions of an attack from France was ridiculed; and it was urged that the proposed measure would add 500,000*l.* to the public expenditure. But it was defended, chiefly, because it would be effected without any new burdens on the people: the land-tax being reduced from four to three shillings in the pound; and as the sinking fund afforded a surplus of 1,800,000*l.* in addition to the other sources of revenue and provisions for the annual expenditure, 1,500,000*l.* was applied to the diminution of the public debt.

Parliament was not inattentive to the other ob-

jects which the King had pointed out in general terms. They amended the provision bills, and made some advances towards a general reform in the system of the corn laws; they repealed some old, impracticable statutes against forestallers, and provided remedies for the evils occasioned by others; they passed a law for better preserving his Majesty's dock-yards, ships, stores, and ammunition, and another for regulating party walls and buildings in London, Westminster, and all places within the bills of mortality: they adopted various expedients for farther encouraging the herring fishery; for preventing frauds in the revenue of excise; and for correcting abuses in the trade between Great Britain and Ireland: they also entered upon the consideration of East India affairs; and as these were of the utmost intricacy and magnitude, it was deemed advisable to appoint a select committee of thirty-one members, chosen by ballot, to inquire into, and make a faithful report of, the late alarming mismanagement and actual state of the company's concerns,—to present to Parliament a comprehensive view of the existence and extent of the evils, and thereby to enable them in their deliberate wisdom to apply an effectual remedy. The sittings of the committee were continued during the summer.

Some attempts were made in the course of the session to enlarge the sphere of religious liberty, the first of which was a petition from certain clergymen of the established church, and some members of the professions of civil law and physic, who prayed to be relieved from subscription to the thirty-nine articles. In the progress of free discussion relative to religious opinion, it was not surprising that systems established at the early periods of the reformation should appear, to many later inquirers, tinctured with error and inconsistency;

the fundamental principle of Protestantism being the right of private judgment, and a reference to the authority of Scripture exclusively. In no Protestant church had the controversies of learned men been carried on with more freedom and intelligence than in that of England, whence it had long been manifest that among its clergy differences of opinion subsisted on important points. The clergymen petitioned for the inherent right, which, they said, they held from God alone, to make a full and free use of their private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and asserted, that the necessity imposed on them of acknowledging particular confessions of faith and doctrine, drawn up by fallible men, was an infringement of that right, and a deviation from the liberal and original principles of the church of England: the others urged the hardship of being obliged, for the purpose of obtaining degrees in their respective faculties, to declare their solemn assent to theological tenets, which the course of their studies had not led them to examine, and upon which their private opinions could be of no consequence to society. The petition was rejected by a majority of 217 against 71, on the ground that the clergy were not obliged to accept of benefices contrary to their conscience; and if scruples arose afterwards, they had it always in their power to relinquish their preferments; that though every man was at liberty to interpret the Scripture for his own private use, his being authorized to do so for others was a matter of a very different nature; and that all governments had a right to establish such a system of public instruction as should approve itself most conducive to the general good. The danger of innovations was also urged, and that it would be impolitic to give any opportunity of lighting up the flames of religious controversy. It seemed, however, to be the general

wish, that the universities would grant relief to the professors of law and physic in the matters they complained of; though Parliament did not think proper to interfere. Favourable sentiments were also thrown out in the debate with regard to the dissenting ministers, and some concern was expressed for the hardships they suffered, in being obliged, under severe penalties, by the act of toleration passed soon after the revolution, to subscribe the doctrinal articles of a church to which they did not belong, and from which they sought neither promotion nor emolument. The friends of the dissenters immediately obtained leave to bring in a bill for their relief, which was carried through the House of Commons without a division, the number of those who spoke against it by no means corresponding with their zeal; but it was thrown out, on the second reading in the House of Lords, by a majority of almost four to one, who considered the thirty-nine articles as the grand palladium on which the civil as well as ecclesiastical government of the kingdom depended.

Another debate, in which the church was concerned, took place the 17th of February, on a motion for leave to introduce a bill to secure the possessions of the subject against dormant claims of the church. It was urged, that as the *Nullum Tempus* of the crown had been given up, some limitation should be made to the claims of the church, but it was argued, in reply, that the power of revival was absolutely necessary to protect the church from the encroachments of the laity. The motion was rejected. Two other circumstances connected with religion may deserve recording. A Dr. Nowell having preached before the House of Commons a sermon, on the 30th of January, containing passages unfavourable to liberty, the thanks given him as a matter of course, were, upon considera-

tion, voted without a division to be expunged. Shortly after, a motion for the repeal of the act enjoining the observance of that anniversary was negatived.

An act passed this session for “making more effectual provisions to guard the descendants of the late King, George the Second, from marrying without the approbation of his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, first had and obtained,” was strenuously opposed in every stage of its progress through both Houses. It had its origin in the marriage contracted but a few months before by the Duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, relict of Colonel Horton, and daughter of Lord Irnham. A private, though long suspected marriage of the Duke of Gloucester to the Countess-dowager of Waldegrave, which the duke now avowed, might also have operated on the King’s mind, to recommend, by a particular message, the consideration of this subject to Parliament. The former experience of the great evils arising from unsuitable alliances rendered the propriety of some restraints evident; but it was alleged that they were carried too far in the new act, according to the provisions of which, the marriages contracted by the royal family, from the time of its having passed, are declared null and void, unless the previous approbation of his Majesty be obtained; but in case the parties shall have attained the age of twenty-five years, and give notice to the privy council of their intention of marriage, such marriage shall be held good in law, unless the Parliament shall, within the space of twelve months, declare its disapprobation of the same. Two animated protests, signed by eighteen peers, display the arguments employed in opposition to the bill. “The descendants of George the Second,” it is remarked, “may in time comprehend a very numerous description of people; and

it would be an intolerable grievance, that the marriages of so many subjects, dispersed amongst the various ranks of civil life, should be subject to the restraints of this act. It seems indecent to the royal family, to suppose that they arrive later at the age of discretion than others, and absurd to allow them to be capable of governing a kingdom at an age when they are not to be trusted in the choice of a wife. It seems to be a mere act of power, having neither the force nor obligation of law, and contrary to the inherent rights of human nature, to disable a man from contracting marriage, perhaps for life; and it is pregnant with civil discord and confusion, as having a natural tendency, at some future period, to produce a disputed title to the crown—and all this for ends wholly disproportionate to such extraordinary efforts, as the main purposes of the bill might have been answered without creating that perpetuity of restraint, which they think themselves in conscience bound to oppose.” That part of the royal message containing the assertion, “that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family had ever belonged to the Kings of this realm,” being inserted in the preamble of the bill, occasioned in the Commons a violent debate; and a motion was there made, that those words were neither founded in law, nor in the opinion of the judges. The words in question, however, were, after long and repeated discussion, confirmed, by 200 against 184 voices. A clause was afterwards moved, that this bill should remain in force during the life of the present King only, and three years after, which was negatived by 150 to 132 votes; and the bill ultimately passed by a majority of 50.

Whatever uneasiness the King felt at the disrespectful behaviour of both his brothers in marrying without his consent, some other events of a family

nature soon after took place, which were to him a source of keener concern and affliction. His amiable mother, the Princess-dowager of Wales, died on the 8th of February; and his sister, the Queen of Denmark, had a few days before fallen a victim to the intrigues and boundless ambition of her husband's mother-in-law. This artful woman, eagerly bent on securing, if possible, the succession for her own son, the King's half brother, left no means untried to alienate the affections of the royal pair from each other. But these attempts not answering her purpose, she entered into more desperate schemes, in concert with some discarded placemen, and at length, by the combined efforts of fraud and force, brought about a revolution at the court of Copenhagen on the 16th of January. Under the sanction of a warrant, compulsorily obtained from the King, Counts Struensee and Brandt, his chief ministers, were thrown into a dungeon, and the young Queen was committed close prisoner to the castle of Cronenburgh. They were charged with a conspiracy to force the King to sign an act of renunciation, and to establish a regency, by which the government was to be lodged in the hands of the young Queen and the two favourites. The latter suffered on a scaffold about three months after; but the Queen was allowed, through the powerful interposition of England, to retire from the Danish dominions. She and her attendants were conveyed to Germany by a small squadron of frigates under the command of Captain M'Bride; and she took up her residence at Zell in the electorate of Hanover, where she died of a malignant fever on the 10th of May, 1775, not having then completed the twenty-fourth year of her age. Her enemies, though so far successful, did not accomplish their ultimate object. They had propagated scandalous reports of her amours with Struensee; yet were afraid to question the legiti-

macy of her issue. In the year 1784, they were all dismissed from office; and a new council was formed under the auspices of the Prince-royal, who was now grown up to assert his own rights, and to vindicate his injured mother's honour.

Another of the northern kingdoms exhibited, in the same year, a more extraordinary revolution. Gustavus the Third had succeeded his father on the throne of Sweden in February, 1771. In his speech at the opening of the diet in June, he declared, that he considered it as his greatest glory to be the first citizen of a free country; and in the month of February following, he not only took the usual oath preparatory to his coronation, but added some articles in which he formally absolved the states from their allegiance, should he ever attempt any infringement of the capitulations to which he had then sworn. All this, however, appears to have been the result of a studied and consummate hypocrisy. After long preparation, he threw off the mask on the 19th of August; and alternately haranguing his guards and the populace, obtained the concurrence of both in his plans of pretended reform. The diet being in a few days convened, he made a plausible and eloquent speech on the disorders of the state, and on the remedies which he proposed for their acceptance, not wholly trusting to the powers of his oratory on this occasion. All the garrison was under arms; the palace was invested on every side with troops; and cannon were planted in the court facing the hall where the representatives of the nation were assembled, while a matross stood over each gun with a lighted match in his hand. The states, thus encircled with terrors, did not take much time to consider the articles of the new constitution; and, upon declaring their assent, the oath of fidelity was immediately administered to them. As soon as the ceremony of swearing to the

new form of government was concluded, he drew a psalm-book out of his pocket, and taking off his crown, began to sing *Te Deum*, "it being highly proper," he said, "to thank Almighty God for his assistance in bringing about so *happy* an event;" by which one of the most limited monarchies in Europe was converted into one of the most absolute. He enjoyed the power thus acquired for twenty years in seeming security; but though he had placed himself above the reach of the laws, he fell at length by the arm of an assassin.

Lord Hillsborough resigned his office of secretary of state for the American department in August, together with his seat at the head of the board of trade, both of which were bestowed on the Earl of Dartmouth, a nobleman who had uniformly opposed American taxation. Lord Stormont, the Earl of Mansfield's nephew, was appointed ambassador extraordinary at the court of Versailles, in the room of the Earl of Harcourt, who succeeded Lord Townshend in the government of Ireland; and the services of the latter were rewarded with the master-generalship of the ordnance. The death of the Earl of Albemarle afforded an opportunity for promoting General Conway to the government of the island of Jersey; and Sir Jeffery Amherst, who succeeded him as lieutenant-general of the ordnance, was soon afterwards called to the privy council. A few promotions were also occasioned by the death of the Earl of Litchfield, Lord North being elected chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Lord Edgcomb appointed captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners. Mr. Jenkinson succeeded the latter in the joint vice-treasurership of Ireland, which made a vacancy at the treasury board in England for Mr. Fox.

Though both Houses of Parliament, which had been prorogued the 10th of June, met again on the

26th of November, to resume, at the King's earnest desire, the consideration of the East India Company's affairs, yet the only steps they had time to take in that business before the Christmas holidays, were the revival, or rather continuance, of the select committee; the appointment of another, consisting of thirteen members, under the name of the Committee of Secrecy, for the purpose of more accurately investigating the various sources of the company's misfortunes, without any unnecessary exposure of them to the world; and an act to restrain the company for a limited time from sending out supervisors, a measure which then appeared to be equally expensive and useless. The objects of inquiry were so various, and of so great an extent, that a complete body of information could not be laid before the House till the month of April, 1773; but the exigencies of the company requiring immediate relief, and a petition for that purpose being presented to Parliament in the beginning of March, Lord North brought forward several resolutions in the course of the month, which were successively agreed to. A loan of 1,400,000*l.* was voted to the company, to save them from a situation little short of bankruptcy; and, in order to prevent the like disasters from befalling them in future, certain terms were annexed to the loan, on the principle, that every creditor, who parts with his money to an applicant, has an undoubted right to insist upon particular conditions, before he accedes to the request. On this principle it was resolved, that the company's dividend should be restricted to six *per cent.* until the re-payment of the sum advanced, and that they be allowed to divide no more than seven *per cent.* until the reduction of their bond debt to 1,500,000*l.* A few days after, it was moved and carried by the minister, that it was the opinion of the House, that it would be more beneficial to

the public and to the East India Company, to let the territorial acquisitions remain in the possession of the company for a limited time, not to exceed the term of six years, their charter expiring about that period;—that no participation of the profits should take place between the public and the company before the above stipulated re-payment of the loan, and reduction of the bond debt;—that after these points were settled, three-fourths of the nett surplus profits of the company, above the sum of eight *per cent.* upon their capital stock, should be paid into the exchequer for the use of the public, the other fourth being set apart either for farther reducing the company's bond debt, or by way of provision for future contingencies;—and that, as the company had in their warehouse a stock of teas, amounting to about 17,000,000 pounds, which it would be greatly to their advantage to convert into money, they should be allowed to export any quantities of it duty free. The company remonstrated against the hardship of some of these stipulations, particularly the limitation of their dividend after the discharge of the loan, the future disposal of their nett profits, and, above all, the implied decision against their right to territorial acquisitions, but their remonstrances had no weight with Parliament; the loan bill passed without the smallest change in any one article; and such was the indignation of the public at the enormous oppressions committed under the name, if not by the express authority, of the company, that little compassion or sympathy was excited by the loudness of their exclamations and complaints in this day of their humiliation and distress.

As it may appear inconceivable how the company could be precipitated, in the short period which elapsed since the year 1765, from the height of prosperity to a state of embarrassment bordering

upon ruin, a transient review of the principal causes will be necessary. Soon after the treaty concluded by Lord Clive at Eliabad, pernicious monopolies were established by the company's servants in all the newly acquired provinces; and as if the exclusive purchase and sale of every article of general consumption in India were not sufficient to satisfy their avarice, the presidency of Calcutta devised another scheme of legal plunder, which was, to declare void at once all the leases held under the government, on very low terms, by the zemidars and polygars, who constitute the great landed interest of the country. The pretext for this was, that many of these leases had been collusively obtained; and it was said, that impartiality required they should be now re-let without distinction to the highest bidder. By these means the natives were impoverished; immense fortunes were made by their oppressors; but the aggregate receipts of the company's treasury alarmingly decreased. As the opulence of Bengal, however great, depended solely upon the labour and industry of the people, upon commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, it is evident that these could not long flourish under the baneful influence of rapacity. The governing rule of trade pursued by the company's servants was to reduce to the lowest extreme of depression the price in the purchase, and to enhance it in the same extravagant degree in the sale. This discouraged the artisan and manufacturer from going to work, and others from buying any thing but what was of absolute necessity. The situation of the farmers and husbandmen was still more hopeless: they planted in doubt, and reaped in uncertainty. A large proportion of the land was of course left untilled; and this co-operating with a drought in the year 1769, occasioned a general scarcity of provisions, particularly of rice, the great staple of In-

dian sustenance. It was also said, that some of the monopolists had exerted their power and their foresight in collecting the scanty supplies into stores; so that the poor Gentoos, who would in no extremity violate the precepts of their religion by eating flesh, had no alternative left them but to part with the small remains of their property, or to perish with hunger. It is certain that a dreadful famine, and the plague, its usual concomitant, carried off, in the year 1770, very nearly a fourth part of the entire population of Bengal, or about 3,000,000 of unfortunate victims. To these calamities were added the distressing effects of the war with Hyder Ally, in which the company had been plunged chiefly by the interested views of individuals, and in such circumstances it cannot be deemed wonderful, that the disbursements of the company should far exceed the amount of their revenues, and bring them, in a few years, to the verge of bankruptcy. The immense increase in the annual expenditure of the civil and military establishments in Bengal, which had risen since 1765 from 700,000*l.* to 1,700,000*l.* was among the principal causes of their embarrassments, as the mercantile profits of the company, during this period, averaged 464,000*l.* annually, which would have afforded a dividend of twelve and a half *per cent.*

In the reports of the select committee, many other scenes of cruelty were unfolded to public view. The detail would be endless; but a general idea of their nature may be formed from the words of the chairman, who declared, "that, through the whole investigation, he could not find a single sound spot whereon to lay his finger, it being all equally one mass of the most unheard of villanies, and the most notorious corruption." Heavy charges were brought against several of the company's servants, and particularly against Lord Clive, who, it was affirmed,

had acquired a princely fortune by the most iniquitous means; but a vote of censure on his conduct, which was moved in the House of Commons, stating that he had abused the powers with which he was intrusted, in having possessed himself of 234,000*l.* under the denomination of private donation, was negatived by a large majority, in opposition to the minister. A deep impression was nevertheless made upon the mind of the accused nobleman by the notoriety of some of the facts, and by the odium which from that time attached itself to his character, and after a few years passed in a state of despondency, he put a voluntary period to his life, by this melancholy catastrophe, demonstrating to mankind the vanity of human pursuits and wishes, and the infinite superiority of conscious virtue to all the gifts of fame and fortune.

The minister, though left in a minority when he supported a motion which led to the impeachment of individuals, found both Houses ready to concur in any general plan of reform, which might happily prevent the repetition of the like crimes, and the return of similar calamities. With this view a bill was brought in for the better management of the company's affairs, as well in India as in Europe; of which the chief provisions were, that the court of directors should in future be chosen for the term of four years, instead of being elected annually, six members vacating their seats each year;—that the qualification for voting should be raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.* capital stock, and the time of previous possession be extended from six months to twelve;—that the jurisdiction of the mayor's court at Calcutta be confined to mercantile causes, and a new supreme court of judicature be established in India, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges appointed by the King; and lastly, that a superiority over the other presidencies be given to the

presidency of Bengal, the blanks for the names of the members, including the governor and council, being filled up at the time by Parliament, and the removal of those officers, as well as a negative on the future nomination of the company, being vested in the crown. It was strongly urged by the minister, in support of those material changes of the old system, that the annual election of directors made them too dependant on their constituents, to form any connected plans, or to adopt any resolute measures:—that the term of six months was too short for a qualification to vote, as it did not preclude temporary purchases of stock, merely for that purpose, and that so small a share as 500*l.* was not a sufficient interest in the company, to entitle the holder to a privilege, the abuse of which might be fatal to the whole body:—that the contraction of powers in the mayor's court at Calcutta was only reducing its jurisdiction within the circle to which it had been originally confined; that it was a court of merchants and traders, and therefore incompetent to the trial of the many great, momentous, and complicated matters arising from the vast extent of territorial acquisitions; that for these reasons, the erection of a new judicature was absolutely necessary, and that the appointment of the judges by the crown, emphatically called the fountain of justice, was not only proper, but indispensable, to give a due weight and consequence to their decisions:—that the proposed superiority of one presidency over the rest was not to interfere with their peculiar or internal regulations, but related only to those great objects of general concern, war, peace, and alliances, in deciding on which, the exercise of equal and separate powers had frequently been productive of much disorder and confusion;—and that the most effectual check on the abuse of the civil and military authority which was thus centered in

the presidency of Bengal, would be to make the nomination as well as removal of the members dependant on the will of the legislature. Petitions against this bill were presented from the city of London, from the East India Company, and from the proprietors of 500*l.* stock, but without effect. After long and frequently renewed debates, it was carried through the House of Commons by a majority of six to one; and in the House of Lords, on the final division, the numbers were 74 to 17.

The other proceedings of this session make but little figure when compared with the magnitude and importance of the East India business. A few of them, however, deserve some notice. The harvest of the year 1772 not having been so productive as to lower the high price of corn in England, and a dreadful scarcity still continuing in other parts of Europe, the attention of Parliament was directed to the distresses of the poor by the speech from the throne; and the renewal of the provision bills was among the first measures that received the sanction of the legislature. The fraudulent diminution of the gold coin, an enormity which had been carried to the most dangerous excess, Parliament at this time endeavoured to remedy; but the act for calling in light gold, and regulating its value by its weight, was loudly exclaimed against, especially by bankers, who were obliged to hold money for others, and had received it at its nominal value; it was said, on the other hand, that the loss fell where it could best be borne, upon those who had been gainers by the situation which occasioned it, and who had always profited by the public money, and that a tax on the nation, to make good the deficiency, would have opened a door for very gross impositions. Attempts for obtaining an enlargement of the toleration act, and the abolition of all tests at the time of being matriculated or admitted a mem-

ber of either of the universities, were renewed, but with no better success than in the last session : Parliament declined interfering in the regulations which the universities were fully empowered to make for the government of their own body ; and the plan of more liberal indulgence to the dissenters, though it again passed the House of Commons by a great majority, was rejected in the Lords by one as great. It was almost impossible that any new arguments could be urged on this subject ; but the suggestions of former speakers and writers were enforced with all the variety of illustration. A petition from the half-pay captains of the navy, praying for a small addition to their subsistence, met with more success, though the minister, in opposition to it, contended, that the state of the finances could not allow any increase of expenses ; and that if this were granted, other bodies of men would urge similar requests, perhaps as well founded. The arguments in favour of the petition, however, prevailed so far, that the motion for redress passed by a majority of nine ; and an address was presented to the throne for an addition of two shillings a-day to the captains' half-pay.

Some very animated and eloquent debates were also occasioned by a late expedition against the Caribbs in the island of St. Vincent. A few of these were descended from the original possessors ; but the greater part were the offspring of some African negroes who had been shipwrecked on the coast about a century before. These two tribes of savages were scattered in huts over the most fertile and valuable part of the country, of which they had only cleared a few little spots, suffering the rest to lie covered with wood, uncultivated and unoccupied, without any benefit to others or to themselves. Soon after the cession of the island to Great Britain, in consequence of the peace in 1763, repeated ap-

plications were made to government by the English settlers, to obtain from those people the lands, of which they were in fact but the nominal owners, in exchange for another quarter of the island, less susceptible of culture, but as comfortable for their habitation, and as convenient for the support of savage life, as that which they now possessed. Proper instructions for this purpose were accordingly issued by the board of treasury in the year 1768 ; but the Caribbs refused to part with their lands, to admit of any exchange, or even to acknowledge submission to the government that held out to them offers of compensation and security. After every effort of entreaty and persuasion had been tried in vain, it was deemed necessary, in the summer of 1772, to order two regiments from North America to join an equal number of troops at St. Vincent's, and to co-operate with the fleet on that station in reducing the refractory savages to obedience. At this period an inquiry was instituted, in the House of Commons, respecting the whole business ; and motions were made conveying the severest censure on the ministry for adopting measures, which were said to be "equally repugnant to the humanity of his Majesty's temper, disgraceful to his arms, and derogatory to the character of the British nation." These charges were answered with ability : the motions were negatived ; and, about the same time, (February the 17th,) the expedition which gave birth to the inquiry was also terminated. The Caribbs, after some fierce encounters, agreed to acknowledge his Majesty's sovereignty without reserve ; to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance ; to submit to the laws of the island in all transactions with the white inhabitants, while they were allowed to adhere to their own customs and usages in their intercourse with each other ; and to cede a large tract of very

valuable land to the crown, the districts which they still retained being secured in perpetuity to them and to their posterity.

Both Houses of Parliament continued their deliberations till the 1st of July, when an end was put to the session by a speech from the throne, expressing the utmost satisfaction at their zeal, assiduity, and perseverance. His Majesty had, the preceding week, afforded much gratification to considerable numbers by a review of the navy at Portsmouth, where the resort of company during the royal visit was unparalleled.

The remainder of the year rolled away without any remarkable domestic occurrences; but the events of the same period in America were very alarming. The repeal of the other port duties, while that on tea was continued, had not produced all the good effects which were expected from the concession. The provincial assemblies persisted in disavowing his Majesty's right to keep commissioners of the customs, or to establish any revenue in North America. A lately adopted measure of appointing the governors and judges of the colonies to be paid by the crown was another source of much discontent. Still, however, the ill-humour of the people seemed to vent itself in angry complaints; and no act of outrage had taken place for the last three years, except the burning of an armed schooner at Rhode Island in June, 1772. Even this was not occasioned by any popular tumult: it was the momentary impulse of revenge inflicted by a party of smugglers on the commander of that vessel, who had made himself obnoxious by his zeal and vigilance in the execution of the revenue laws. But, in the summer of the current year, an extraordinary accident served to blow into a flame the unsmothered embers of discontent in Massachusetts Bay. Dr. Franklin, the agent for that province,

had by some unknown means got possession of certain confidential letters, written by the governor and the lieutenant-governor to their friends in England, containing an unfavourable representation of the temper of the people, and the views of the leaders, and tending to show the necessity of more vigorous measures, in order to secure the obedience of the colony. These letters were immediately transmitted by the doctor to the assembly then sitting at Boston, who came to several violent resolutions, which they followed up by a petition and remonstrance to the King, charging Mr. Hutchinson the governor, and Mr. Oliver his deputy, with being betrayers of their trusts and of the people they governed, and praying for justice against them and for their speedy removal. Fresh fuel was soon after thrown into the blaze of animosity excited by the publication of the letters. The East India Company having, in pursuance of the act for permitting the exportation of teas duty free, consigned large quantities to their agents in the principal ports of America, the factious leaders there easily persuaded the people, that this was a scheme calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue law, and thereby open the door to an unlimited taxation. Meetings were held, first at Philadelphia, and afterwards in several other towns, where resolutions were passed, declaring "this new ministerial plan of importation to be a violent attack upon the liberties of America," and pronouncing it to be the duty of every American to oppose this attempt; and that whoever should directly or indirectly countenance it was an enemy to his country. The consignees were obliged in most places to relinquish their appointments; and among other inflammatory papers then circulated throughout the colonies, a warning was given to the pilots on the river Delaware "not to conduct

any of the tea ships into their harbour, as they were sent only for the purpose of enslaving and poisoning all the Americans." In a similar publication at New York, those ships were said to be freighted with fetters forged in Great Britain; and every vengeance was denounced against all persons who should in any manner contribute to the introduction of such chains. The landing of the tea was every where violently resisted; and several of the ships returned to England without breaking bulk. At Charlestown, after much opposition and tumult, a cargo was permitted to be unloaded, but was immediately lodged in damp unventilated cellars, where it long remained, and finally perished; some was also landed at New York, under the cannon of a man of war, but the government there were forced to consent to its being locked up from use. At Boston the riots, even before the arrival of the ships, rose to a height which made the excesses committed elsewhere appear trivial; the populace surrounded the houses of the consignees and demanded their resignation, which not being complied with, their doors and windows were broken, and they themselves narrowly escaped the fury of the mob by flying from the town, and taking shelter in Castle William. In vain did the governor issue a proclamation commanding the civil magistrates to suppress the riots; the sheriff was insulted for attempting to read it at one of their illegal meetings in the town-hall. As soon as the ships arrived, the inhabitants met again, and with loud acclamations testified their concurrence in a vote that the tea should not be landed, and that it should be sent back in the same bottoms; but clearances from the custom-house, and a pass from the governor, being refused, an immense crowd repaired to the quay in the evening of the 18th of December, and about seventeen of the most resolute, in the disguise of

Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels, broke open 342 chests of tea, and discharged their contents into the water.

The ministry not being in possession of these facts at the meeting of the Parliament on the 13th of January, 1774, no mention was made of American affairs in the speech from the throne; but on the 7th of March, a message was delivered from his Majesty to both Houses, informing them, that, in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before Parliament—recommending to their serious consideration, what farther regulations or permanent provisions might be necessary to be established. This message was accompanied by a great number of papers, which sufficiently showed the spirit that prevailed all over the continent. In the address of thanks for these communications, the House assured his Majesty that they would exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependance of the colonies. The first step taken to accomplish this end was the introduction of a bill, which was rapidly and almost unanimously carried through both Houses, for shutting up the port of Boston, and prohibiting the lading or unlading of all goods or merchandize at any place within its precincts, from and after the 1st of June, until it should appear to his Majesty that peace and obedience to the laws were so far restored in the town, that trade might again be safely carried on, and his Majesty's customs be duly collected; in which case his Majesty might by proclamation open the harbour; but

not till it should also sufficiently appear, that full compensation had been made to the East India Company for the destruction of their tea, and to all others who had suffered by the late riots. The board of customs was, in the mean time, to be removed to the town of Salem. But as the prevention of future enormities was an object of still greater importance than the punishment of those which were past, and as the latter seemed greatly owing to the weakness of the civil power in the colony of Massachusetts's Bay, and to other radical defects in the frame of their government, it was now proposed to assimilate their constitution more nearly to that of the royal governments in America, and to their prototype, the government of Great Britain. For this purpose an act was passed to deprive the lower house of assembly of the privilege of electing the members of the council, and to vest that privilege in the crown ; to authorize the King, or his substitute the governor, to appoint judges, magistrates, and sheriffs ; to empower the sheriffs to summon and return juries ; and to prohibit town meetings from being called by the *select men*, unless with the consent of the governor. Such a restraint was deemed necessary, not only to suppress the spirit of faction in the province itself, but to prevent the rest of the colonies from being tainted by its example. The next expedient was a bill for the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts's Bay, empowering the governor, with the advice of the council, in case any person was indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, and it should appear by information on oath that the fact had been committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing riots, and that a fair trial could not be had in the province, to send the person so indicted into any other colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried ; the act to continue

Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels, broke open 342 chests of tea, and discharged their contents into the water.

The ministry not being in possession of these facts at the meeting of the Parliament on the 13th of January, 1774, no mention was made of American affairs in the speech from the throne ; but on the 7th of March, a message was delivered from his Majesty to both Houses, informing them, that, in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before Parliament—recommending to their serious consideration, what farther regulations or permanent provisions might be necessary to be established. This message was accompanied by a great number of papers, which sufficiently showed the spirit that prevailed all over the continent. In the address of thanks for these communications, the House assured his Majesty that they would exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependance of the colonies. The first step taken to accomplish this end was the introduction of a bill, which was rapidly and almost unanimously carried through both Houses, for shutting up the port of Boston, and prohibiting the lading or unlading of all goods or merchandize at any place within its precincts, from and after the 1st of June, until it should appear to his Majesty that peace and obedience to the laws were so far restored in the town, that trade might again be safely carried on, and his Majesty's customs be duly collected ; in which case his Majesty might by proclamation open the harbour ; but

not till it should also sufficiently appear, that full compensation had been made to the East India Company for the destruction of their tea, and to all others who had suffered by the late riots. The board of customs was, in the mean time, to be removed to the town of Salem. But as the prevention of future enormities was an object of still greater importance than the punishment of those which were past, and as the latter seemed greatly owing to the weakness of the civil power in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and to other radical defects in the frame of their government, it was now proposed to assimilate their constitution more nearly to that of the royal governments in America, and to their prototype, the government of Great Britain. For this purpose an act was passed to deprive the lower house of assembly of the privilege of electing the members of the council, and to vest that privilege in the crown ; to authorize the King, or his substitute the governor, to appoint judges, magistrates, and sheriffs ; to empower the sheriffs to summon and return juries ; and to prohibit town meetings from being called by the *select men*, unless with the consent of the governor. Such a restraint was deemed necessary, not only to suppress the spirit of faction in the province itself, but to prevent the rest of the colonies from being tainted by its example. The next expedient was a bill for the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts Bay, empowering the governor, with the advice of the council, in case any person was indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, and it should appear by information on oath that the fact had been committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing riots, and that a fair trial could not be had in the province, to send the person so indicted into any other colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried ; the act to continue

in force four years. The opposition made to these bills, in their progress through both Houses, was feeble and unpopular; but another act that followed them, for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, was violently opposed within doors, and excited much clamour without. The objects of this act were, to secure to the inhabitants of that province the free exercise of their religion, and to the Roman Catholic clergy their rights, agreeably to the articles of capitulation at the time of the surrender of the province; to confirm the English laws, and a trial by jury in criminal cases, but, in civil cases, to restore the ancient French laws and a trial without jury, as being more acceptable to the Canadians; to establish a council, holding their commissions from and at the pleasure of the King, who were to exercise all the powers of legislation, except that of imposing taxes; and lastly, to extend the limits of the province, which, reaching far to the southward behind the other settlements, might be made to serve as a check upon them, if necessary. Lord Chatham's speech against this bill tended greatly to inflame the minds of the people: he called it a child of inordinate power, and asked if any of the bench of bishops would hold it out for baptism.

Such were the principal measures adopted this session by the British Parliament for maintaining the authority of the mother country over the colonies. Four ships of the line had also been fitted out for Boston; and as a military force might in like manner be necessary to reduce its inhabitants to obedience, an act was passed to provide commodious quarters for officers and soldiers on that service; and General Gage, commander-in-chief in America, was appointed governor of Massachusetts Bay, in the room of Mr. Hutchinson, who had desired leave to come to England. The general was

farther invested with full powers to grant pardons, and to remit fines and forfeitures, to such offenders as should appear to be fit objects of mercy : but the people of Boston did not seem disposed to court his lenity or indulgence. Having just received intelligence of the bill for shutting up their port, they were all convened to take it into consideration the very day after the new governor's arrival. At this meeting, resolutions were passed, and ordered to be transmitted to the other colonies, inviting them to enter into an agreement to stop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain, Ireland, and every part of the West Indies, as the only means, they said, that were left for the salvation of North America and her liberties. Copies of the act were also multiplied with the utmost dispatch, and sent to every part of the continent, where they produced the same effects as poets ascribe to the Furies' torch, setting all the countries through which they passed in a flame. Addresses from most of the provinces arrived in a short time at Boston, exhorting the inhabitants to persevere in their opposition to such an attack on their civil rights, and declaring that all British America considered themselves as sufferers in the common cause. A general congress was also determined upon ; and Philadelphia being commodiously situated for the purpose, the first meeting of delegates from the several colonies was appointed to take place there in the beginning of September ; and, in the mean time, engagements, under the title of *a solemn league and covenant*, were universally entered into for the purpose of suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and renouncing all communication with those who should refuse to sign this covenant, notwithstanding a proclamation from General Gage, styling such an agreement an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination. He was even obliged to dissolve the pro-

vincial assembly, having found every other method ineffectual to put a stop to their violent proceedings. But those of the general congress were of a still more alarming tendency. The delegates met on the day appointed at Philadelphia : they were fifty-one in number, chosen in such proportions from the different colonies as corresponded with their varied extent and population, though each colony had but one distinct and separate vote : they sat with the doors locked, no person but a member being permitted to be present at their deliberations, and all their proceedings, except what they thought fit to make known, being kept profoundly secret. Among their first resolves was a vote, which passed unanimously, expressing their deep sense of the sufferings of their countrymen in the province of Massachusetts Bay, under the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British Parliament ; thoroughly approving the wisdom and fortitude of the opposition made to those measures ; and asserting it to be the duty of all America not only to contribute to the relief of the sufferers, but to assist in repelling any force which might be employed to carry such acts into execution. The congress also drew up and published a declaration of rights, little short of absolute independency, with the copy of a formal instrument in writing, signed by the members, and recommended to their constituents, renouncing all intercourse with the mother country, till redress should be obtained for the violation of those rights ; — a petition to the King, enumerating the several grievances, and blending professions of loyalty with a firm demand of the abolition of the obnoxious statutes, as the only means of restoring harmony between Great Britain and the colonies ; — an apology to the people of England for the suspension of commerce, which, they said, necessity alone, and a regard to self-preservation, obliged them to adopt ;

—a memorial to the inhabitants of the colonies, designed to explain to them in what manner they were all interested in the state of the people of Boston ; urging them to a compliance with the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement ; and advising them to extend their views to the most unhappy events, and to be in all respects prepared for every contingency ;—and, lastly, an address to the Canadians, the object of which was to render them discontented under their new form of government, and to induce them to join in the general confederacy. After these public acts, which the congress completed in a session of fifty-two days, it dissolved itself, having previously recommended that another congress should be held the 10th of May following. The effects of its decrees were quickly seen throughout the provinces : a spirit of resistance to the British government discovered itself almost every where, but particularly in Massachuset's Bay, which was considered as the grand focus of American rebellion. The courts of judicature were totally suspended : all persons accepting offices under the late laws were declared enemies to their country : every step taken by General Gage for the accommodation and security of the troops under his command was obstructed as much as possible : his recal of writs which he had issued for convening the general court of representatives in October was disregarded : they met in direct contempt of the authority which forbade them ; voted themselves into a provincial congress with Mr. Hancock at their head ; appointed a committee to present a remonstrance to the governor ; and, on his refusing to recognise them as a lawful assembly, they proceeded to exercise all the functions not only of the legislative, but of the executive power. At one of their subsequent meetings, a

plan was drawn up for the immediate defence of the province ; magazines of ammunition and stores were provided for 12,000 militia ; and an enrolment was made of *minute men*, so called from their engaging to turn out with their arms at a minute's warning. General Gage clearly foresaw the inevitable issue of such proceedings ; but he still confined himself to the mildest measures that were consistent with prudence and necessary caution, being resolved, that, if the sword must be at last unsheathed, it should not appear owing to any precipitancy on his part. He admonished the people, though in vain, not to be ensnared by the provincial congress, nor led by their influence to incur the penalties of sedition, treason, and rebellion : besides fortifying a narrow isthmus, called Boston Neck, that connects the town with the continent, by means of which the inhabitants of that place became in some sort hostages for the behaviour of the rest of their countrymen, he took care to secure such magazines as were within his reach, and to spike the cannon of some batteries, to prevent their being serviceable to an enemy. The activity of the Americans sometimes defeated his utmost circumspection. An armed body of them made themselves masters of the fort at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and sent off the powder it contained to a place of safety. They also surprised another small fort in the same province, called William and Mary, which was garrisoned by only one officer and five men, to whom they did no personal injury, but took possession of the ammunition and ordnance. A proclamation, which had been issued in England, prohibiting the exportation of military stores, operated as a strong incitement to the eagerness of the colonists to procure such supplies. Mills for making gunpowder, and manufactories for arms, were set

up in several places ; and the advice of congress " to prepare for every contingency," was implicitly followed by all the provinces.

While every thing bore the most unfavourable aspect in America, the British cabinet at home thought it right, before a blow was struck, to take the sense of the nation on a subject which involved the dearest interests of the empire, and a dissolution of Parliament was accordingly resolved upon, to give the people an opportunity of manifesting their sentiments in the choice of representatives, and to free the latter from any restraint with regard to a change of system, if it should be deemed advisable. The same House of Commons, which had so recently as well as repeatedly given its sanction to vigorous measures, could not, with a good grace, rescind its own most deliberate acts ; but another body of representatives would not be tied down to an involuntary perseverance in support of the resolutions of their predecessors. The proclamation for dissolving the Parliament, which had sat six years, was issued on the 30th of September ; and the writs for calling a new one were made returnable on the 29th of November following, the shortness of the interval being intended to prevent those flagrant excesses of turbulence, faction, intrigue, and venality, which had disgraced the last general election. Although some of the elections were warmly contested, the general complexion of the new Parliament differed little from that of the old one. Wilkes was returned for Middlesex without the least opposition, the court prudently avoiding at such a time any renewal of those contests which had been a source of so much vexation. The strength of the ministry in the new Parliament appeared on the first day of its meeting, when no competitor for the chair was started against Sir Fletcher Norton ; and afterwards, in the debate on

an address of thanks to his Majesty for his speech from the throne, of which the disobedience of the colonies constituted the chief topic. As the address implied a general approbation of the steps taken by his Majesty to carry into execution the late laws, and to restore peace and good order in Massachuset's Bay, an amendment was proposed on the side of the opposition, and supported by all their strength. Their numbers, however, amounted only to 73 against 264, who voted for the original address. Nothing else of a remarkable nature occurred in Parliament before the holidays, except that the estimates, as stated to the Commons, were entirely formed upon a peace establishment, and that nine out of thirteen Peers in the minority signed a protest against the address, being the first of the kind which had ever appeared on the journals of the Upper House. It may also be deemed worthy of notice, that the Lords now at length put an end to that illiberal contention with the Commons, by which, ever since the year 1770, the members of each House were interdicted from the other.

The most interesting occurrence which took place on the continent of Europe in the course of this year, was the death of Louis the Fifteenth of France, who expired on the 10th of May, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and fifty-ninth of his reign. The gross debauchery, equally unworthy of his age and station, into which he had sunk during his latter years, and his despotic measures with respect to the Parliaments, had entirely rendered inapplicable his early appellation of the *well beloved*. He was succeeded by his grandson, the ill-fated Louis the Sixteenth, then not more than twenty years of age, a prince of amiable manners, but educated in a corrupt court, which ill fitted him for the arduous part he was destined to act. The young king, however,

commenced his reign with some popularity. The restoration of the Parliaments, which had been banished by his grandfather, endeared him to the people; and the removal of the old ministers, and the recal of the Count de Maurepas, the friend and confidant of his father, who had been twenty-three years banished from court, manifested a disposition to consult and pursue the real interests of his country.

This year was also remarkable for the death of the famous Pope Clement the Fourteenth, better known by the name of Ganganelli, not without strong suspicions of poison from the malignity of the Jesuits, in revenge for the abolition of their order; though his gradual decline may be attributed to natural causes, having attained his seventieth year.

CHAPTER X.

Proceedings in Parliament relative to America—Lord Chatham's motions for conciliation—Bills to restrain the trade and fisheries of America—Lord North's conciliatory proposition—Mr. Burke's and Mr. Hartley's propositions—Remonstrance from New York rejected—Reinforcements ordered to Boston—Affair at Salem—First contest between the British and Americans, attended with bloodshed, at Lexington and Concord—An army of 20,000 men assembled by Congress—Investment of Boston—Arrival of reinforcements—Remarks on General Gage's proceedings—Battle of Bunker's Hill—Proceedings of the general Congress at Philadelphia—Appointment of Washington and other military commanders—Congress abandon their professions by resolving to invade Canada—Rash attempt on Montreal—Forts Chamblée and St. John's taken by the Americans—General Carleton abandons Montreal—Siege of Quebec—Death of the American General Montgomery—Proceedings in Virginia and other provinces—Petition and remonstrance of London in favour of the Americans—Subsequent resolutions of the Common Hall—Resignations in the army—The Duke of Grafton quits the ministry, and recommends conciliation with America—Addresses and petitions—Storm at Newfoundland—Riot of sailors at Liverpool—Commitment of Mr. Sayre to the Tower—Meeting of Parliament—Speech and address—Changes in the ministry in consequence of the Duke of Grafton's resignation—Death of Lord Lyttleton—Debates—Examination of Mr. Penn by the Lords—Mr. Burke's conciliatory proposition respecting America—Lord North's prohibitory Bill—Adjournment of both Houses.

PARLIAMENT having met after the recess, Lord Dartmouth, on the 20th of January, 1775, laid before the Peers a number of papers relating to America. The plan of ministerial operation had been finally settled—not, however, it is understood, without considerable opposition in the cabinet. The Earl of Chatham again resumed his seat in the House of Lords, and moved an address to the King, most humbly to advise and beseech his Majesty, that, in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, it may graciously please his Majesty to transmit orders to General Gage for removing his forces from the town of Boston. “I wish,” said he, “not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis; an hour now lost in allaying ferments in America, may produce years of calamity. Never will I desert, in any stage of its progress, the conduct of this momentous business; unless fettered to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention; I will knock at the gates of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will, if it be possible, rouse them to a sense of their danger. The recal of your army I urge as necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace. By this it will appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably, and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout the empire. Resistance to these acts was necessary, and therefore just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or enslave America, who feels that tyranny is equally intolerable, whether it be exercised by an individual part of the legislature, or by the collective bodies which

compose it. As an Englishman, I recognise to the Americans their supreme unalterable right of property. As an American, I would equally recognise to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation. This distinction is involved in the abstract nature of things; property is private, individual, absolute; the touch of another annihilates it. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration; it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow; it is a vast and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into one harmonious effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power of the empire. On this grand practical distinction then let us rest;—taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from legislative control and commercial restraint, as from taxation for the purpose of revenue, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless. When your lordships have perused the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider the dignity, the firmness, and the wisdom with which the Americans have acted, you cannot but respect their cause. History, my lords, has been my favourite study, and in the celebrated writings of antiquity have I often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my lords, I must declare and avow, that, in the master states of the world, I know not the people, or the senate, who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in general congress in Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be futile. Heaping

papers on the table, or counting your majorities on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger. It must arrive, my lords, unless these fatal acts are done away; it must arrive in all its horrors; and then these boastful ministers, in spite of all their confidence and all their manœuvres, shall be compelled to hide their heads. But it is not repealing this or that act of Parliament, it is not repealing a piece of parchment, that can restore America to your bosom; you must repeal her fears and resentments, and then you may hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you could force them, would be suspicious and insecure. But it is more than evident that you cannot force them to your unworthy terms of submission; it is impossible; we ourselves shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retreat while we can, not when we must. I repeat it, my lords, we shall one day be forced to undo these violent, oppressive acts; they must be repealed, you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it; I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not finally repealed. Avoid then this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and to happiness. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men, and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend to deter you from perseverance in the present ruinous measures; foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, waiting for the maturity of your

errors, with a vigilant eye to America and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may. To conclude, my lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from the crown; but I affirm, they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone." Lord Chatham's motion was seconded by Earl Camden, but the cabinet lords declared that the mother country should never relax till America confessed her supremacy, and obedience must be enforced by arms; the motion was finally rejected by 68 voices against 18. Notwithstanding this great majority, Lord Chatham, on the 1st of February, proposed a bill, under the title of "A Provisional Act for Settling the Troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." This bill, which comprehended a vast extent of matter, and seemed to require much separate discussion, was negatived by 61 against 32. On the following day, Lord North moved, in the Commons, an address to the King, to return thanks for the communication of the American papers, to declare that a rebellion actually existed in the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, and solemnly to assure his Majesty of their fixed resolution to support him against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of his just rights and those of the two Houses of Parliament. A vehement debate ensued, and an amendment was proposed by Mr. Fox, deploring that the information which the papers laid before them had afforded, served only to convince the House that the measures taken by his Majesty's servants tended rather to widen than to heal the unhappy differences be-

tween Great Britain and America, and praying an alteration in the same. The amendment was rejected by 304 voices against 105; but, on receiving the report, Lord John Cavendish moved for its recommitment, and a second warm debate took place, when the numbers were 296 against 106. The next day a conference was held with the Lords, to propose their lordships' joining in the address. The debate which took place on this proposition, was equally violent with that in the Commons; and, to the unbounded surprise of the House, Lord Mansfield declared, that the imposition of the port duties of 1767 was a measure the most absurd and pernicious that could be devised, and the cause of all our present and impending evils. Lord Shelburne, Lord Camden, and the Duke of Grafton, also severally declared, that they had no share in that measure, and had never given it their approbation. The Marquis of Rockingham, who had petitions from the American and West India merchants to present to the House, moved the previous question, that the allegations of the merchants might be heard, before any decisive step should be taken; but on the division it was negatived by 104 against 29, and the original motion, for uniting with the Commons in the address, was agreed to.

Lord North next moved for a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the New England provinces, and to prohibit them from carrying on the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. This, as a measure of political necessity, was agreed to. Before this bill had passed, Lord North announced a conciliatory proposition, which he introduced by a speech, stating the offer to be founded on that passage of the late address which declared, that whenever any of the colonies should make a proper application to Parliament, we should be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence.

The proposition was, that whenever any of the colonies should propose, according to their abilities, to raise their due proportion towards the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the assembly of such province, and disposable by Parliament; and should engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province, it would be proper, if such proposal should be approved by his Majesty in Parliament, to forbear, in respect of such province, to levy any duties, tax, or assessments, or to propose any, except such as should be necessary for the regulation of trade.

The intention of the minister is allowed, even by his enemies, to have been just and laudable; but the opposition treated the proposition as nugatory, insidious, and ridiculous; and the partisans of administration, still known as the Bedford party, exclaimed against the motion, as a total abandonment of principle, as in direct opposition to the address, as a contradiction to all the acts and declarations of Parliament, as a virtual acknowledgment of injury, and as a mean prevarication, which could tend to no other purpose than to sacrifice the dignity of that House. They declared that they would make no concessions to rebels with arms in their hands; nor agree to any terms of conciliation, in which an express and definitive acknowledgment of the supremacy of Parliament should not be a preliminary article. Amidst the tumult occasioned by this motion, the solicitor-general, Wedderburne, affirmed, that it was far from the design of the proposition to assent to a dereliction of the rights of Parliament, or to yield in any degree to the insolence of the Americans; but, on the contrary, it held forth a more wise and effectual method of enforcing the claims of the one, and repressing the arrogance of

the other. Sir Gilbert Elliot reconciled the apparent deviation of the motion from the tenor of the address, and the other measures of administration, by observing, that the address contained two correspondent lines of conduct; the one to repress rebellion, protect loyalty, and enforce the laws; the other, to afford indulgence to those who would return to their duty. Lord North, alarmed at the idea of a minority, acquiesced in this explanation; adding, "that his motion was founded on the well known maxim, '*Divide et impera!*'—that he had never expected the Americans would embrace this proposal, but that it was intended to disunite the colonies and unite the people of England." The question was then carried, by 274 against 88; and a second bill, "to restrain the trade of the colonies of East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, and the counties on the Delaware," was passed almost without opposition.

On the 22d of March, with the view of effecting a reconciliation upon a solid and rational basis, Mr. Burke moved a series of thirteen propositions, which he enforced by a most able and eloquent speech. These resolutions went to recognise the legal competency of the colonial assemblies for all the various purposes of taxation; to acknowledge that this legal competency had had a just and beneficial exercise; and that experience had shown the benefit of their grants, and the futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of supply. Some of the propositions related to the settlement of an independent judicature, to the regulation of the courts of admiralty, and to the repeal of the late coercive acts of Parliament. The previous question, however, was moved on the first resolution, and carried in favour of ministers by 270 voices against 78; and the remainder were negatived with-

out a division. A few days afterwards Mr. Hartley moved, "that letters of requisition should be issued, agreeably to ancient precedent, under authority of the crown, with a view to procure a permanent and voluntary contribution from the several colonies towards the general expenses of the empire." This motion was also negatived without a division. On the 15th of May, Mr. Burke presented to the House of Commons a paper intituled "A Representation and Remonstrance from the General Assembly of New York;" a province which had been considered less disaffected than any other, which, with North Carolina, had refused an unreserved acquiescence in the resolutions of the congress, and had not been included in the late restraining acts. The remonstrance, however, was rejected, as containing claims inconsistent with the authority of Britain; a rejection which completed that union it seemed to be the policy of government to prevent. At the close of the session, on the 26th of May, his Majesty expressed the most perfect satisfaction in the conduct of his Parliament, and his entire conviction that the most salutary effects must result from such measures, formed and conducted on such principles.

The storm which had been so long gathering in the western hemisphere, began now to break in violent and reiterated flashes. The inhabitants of the colonies, rather than make any concession to the British Parliament, were determined to risk all consequences, "even though it were revealed from heaven," as one of their popular speakers said, "that 999 were to perish in the contest, and one only of a thousand to survive and retain his liberty." The British government was equally resolute; and though it held out conciliation in one hand, it brandished the sword of supremacy in the other. An addition to the land and sea forces

was voted in the House of Commons; and a large reinforcement was ordered to Boston, under the command of the Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. Massachusetts Bay, where the spirit of resistance had first appeared, was destined to feel the first shocks of the explosion. A new provincial congress met early in the year, and left no means of alarm untried to increase the ardour of military preparations. They told their constituents that the sudden destruction of that colony was intended; and therefore urged the militia, particularly the *minute men*, to spare neither time, pains, nor expense, in perfecting themselves for actual service. The discipline and caution of the King's forces, instead of convincing the country people that the sword would be drawn with the utmost reluctance, served only to inspire them with greater boldness. An instance of this occurred on the 26th of February, when a small detachment, which had been ordered to Salem for the purpose of securing some brass cannon and field-pieces, hearing, on their arrival there, that the ordnance was carried off that morning, and being induced to march into the country with the hope of recovering it, were obstructed in their design by a party of unarmed peasants, who took up a drawbridge that lay over a small river where the troops were to pass; and refused to let it down, alleging that the road was not a public one, and that the bridge was private property. The commanding officer, seeing a boat in the river, was about to use it for transporting his men; but some of the Americans began to cut holes in the bottom, which occasioned a scuffle. At this juncture, a clergyman, who had witnessed the transaction, finding that the point of honour, with respect to making good the passage, was the principal object with the military, it being now too late in the evening to prosecute their original purpose,

he prevailed upon the people to let down the bridge. The troops then crossed over, merely in exercise of the right which they claimed, and returned immediately after. Every circumstance tended to show that the least exertion of force would certainly bring things to extremities. A second expedition, which soon took place, had this fatal issue.

General Gage, having received intelligence that a considerable quantity of stores, purchased by the agents for the provincial congress, was collected at Concord, a town about twenty miles from Boston, thought it expedient to send off the grenadiers and light infantry of his army, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith, to destroy that magazine. The detachment, consisting of 800 or 900 men, embarked in boats on the night preceding the 19th of April, and having gone a little way up Charles River, landed at a place called Phipp's Farm, whence they proceeded towards Concord with the utmost silence and dispatch, care being taken by some officers on horseback to scour the roads, and to secure every person who came in their way. But notwithstanding these precautions, they had advanced only a few miles, when it was perceived, by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed. Upon this discovery, the colonel ordered six companies of the light infantry to march forward in all haste, and to get possession of the two bridges on different roads leading off from the opposite side of Concord. They reached Lexington, fifteen miles from Boston, at five in the morning; but finding the militia of that town drawn up on a green, Major Pitcairn, who led the van, ordered them to disperse, and some shots were fired, but by which party first is not absolutely certain. The British had one man wounded, and the major's horse was shot in two

places: of the militia eight were killed, and some wounded; the rest dispersed in an instant. The troops continued their march in a body till they got near Concord, where they perceived another more numerous party of militia assembled upon a hill that commanded the entrance of the town. At the approach of the British troops, they fled over one of the bridges on the other side of Concord, where the light infantry immediately posted themselves. The grenadiers, in the mean time, destroyed the ordnance and stores; after which they quitted the town; and the light infantry being then called off from a sharp skirmish with the militia, who had returned to the charge at the bridge, the whole detachment began their march back to Boston. The country was now up in arms; and not only the rear of the army was assailed by a continually increasing multitude of pursuers, but a galling though irregular fire was directed against the flanks, as they passed along, from behind trees, houses, and hedges, which supplied the place of lines and redoubts. It happened, unfortunately, that General Gage, apprehensive of the danger of the service, had detached Lord Percy early in the morning with sixteen companies of foot, some marines, and two field pieces, to support Colonel Smith, and that they were arrived at Lexington by the time the others had returned from Concord. Lord Percy immediately formed his detachment into a square, in which he enclosed Colonel Smith's party, who were almost exhausted with fatigue. In that position, the troops took some refreshment, and then resumed their march, during the remainder of which they were annoyed, as before, by an incessant fire, which they could not return with any effect, as the Americans were concealed, and kept running from front to flank, and from flank to rear, loading their pieces at one place, and dis-

charging them at another. The united detachments did not reach Boston till sun-set: their loss, though great, fell short of what might be expected from their perilous and exposed situation in the course of so long and harassing a march: 65 were killed, 136 wounded, and 49 missing. The loss of the provincials amounted to 60 men, two-thirds of whom were killed. It was not long before both parties were engaged in a much more obstinate and bloody conflict.

The return of the British forces, though it naturally followed the accomplishment of the purpose for which they had been sent, was represented all over the country as a defeat; and nothing was now talked of but driving the King's troops out of Boston. The indignation and revenge of the Americans were also inflamed by descriptions of wanton cruelties said to have been committed by the regulars in their retreat, and by a report that the grand object of the enterprise was to seize Hancock and Adams, two of the most popular members of the provincial congress. The only circumstance which could give any plausibility to this report was the order to secure the bridges beyond Concord; though such a measure must have been deemed necessary to prevent the stores from being carried off that way. Those libels, however, being sanctioned by the congress, had the desired effect: the militia poured in so fast from all the distant parts of the province, that an army of 20,000 men was soon assembled under the command of Colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas, who acted as temporary generals, and having fixed their headquarters at Cambridge, formed a line of encampment, the right wing of which extended from that town to Roxburgh, and the left to the river Mystic, the distance between the points being about thirty miles. They strengthened this line with ar-

tillery, and were speedily joined by a large detachment of troops from Connecticut, under Colonel Putnam, an old officer who had served with great reputation in the two last wars. Rules and orders for the government of this army were published by the provincial congress, who also voted the issuing of a considerable sum in paper currency to defray its expenses, for the redemption of which the faith of the province was pledged. The same congress passed a resolution on the 5th of May, declaring that General Gage had, by the late transactions, utterly disqualified himself from serving that colony as a governor, or in any other capacity; and that, therefore, no obedience was due to him; but, on the contrary, that he was to be considered and guarded against as an inveterate enemy. The general took no notice of this manifesto: the troops he had with him being barely sufficient for the purposes of defence, he quietly waited for reinforcements from England, which arrived about the end of May. These were soon followed by some regiments from Ireland; and though the number of the whole did not exceed 10,000, being equal to little more than a third of the provincial army that blockaded Boston, yet the former were formidable, from the excellence of the troops, and the high character of the principal officers. But the commander-in-chief, though a brave and amiable man, wanted some of the most essential requisites in so important a station—sagacity, decision, secrecy, and vigour. His neglect to secure such of the surrounding heights as commanded the town or harbour of Boston, immediately on the arrival of the reinforcements, was attended with irreparable injury. The troops remained above a fortnight inactively and ingloriously cooped up within the former narrow limits. A proclamation was at length issued by General Gage, offering a free pardon to all those

who should forthwith lay down their arms, John Hancock and Samuel Adams excepted; and threatening with punishment all such as should delay to avail themselves of the proffered mercy. Martial law was also declared to be in force in the province, until peace and order should be so far restored that justice might be again administered in the civil courts. These empty menaces not producing any effect, some plan of offensive measures became necessary; but even in this the tardy British commander was anticipated by the more active and vigilant provincials. Adjacent to the peninsula of Boston, on the north, is another of similar form, entirely surrounded by navigable water, except where it is joined to the main land by an isthmus, somewhat wider and more accessible than Boston Neck. In the centre of the peninsula rises an eminence, called Bunker's Hill, with an easy ascent from the isthmus, but steep on every other side; and at the bottom of the hill, towards Boston, stands Charlestown, both places being separated only by Charles River, which is about as broad as the Thames at London Bridge. Bunker's Hill was sufficiently high to overlook any part of Boston, and near enough to be within cannon shot. General Gage should not have occupied a post from which he was so liable to be annoyed, and he saw his error on the morning of the 17th of June, when it was discovered that the Americans had, in the course of the preceding night, thrown up a considerable intrenchment at Bunker's Hill, with a strong redoubt, and a breast-work in some parts cannon proof. The first alarm was given at day-break by the Lively man of war; and some other ships soon joined in a heavy but ineffectual fire against the new fortifications. A battery of six guns was also opened upon them from Cop's Hill, in Boston; and about noon, a detachment from

the army was landed near Charlestown, under the command of Major-general Howe and Brigadier-general Pigot, with orders to dislodge the enemy. The troops were formed without opposition as soon as they landed; but the generals perceiving that the provincials were strongly posted on the heights, that they were already in great force, and that large columns were every moment coming in to their assistance, thought it necessary to apply for a reinforcement. On obtaining this, the whole detachment, consisting of more than 2000 men, moved on in two lines, to attack the intrenchments, and to storm the redoubt. The assault was preceded by a severe fire of cannon and howitzers, the troops halting at intervals, to give time to the artillery to produce some effect. The left wing, commanded by General Pigot, had also, in advancing, to contend with some men posted in the houses in Charlestown; and in this conflict the town was set on fire in two places and burnt to the ground. The provincials upon the hill, secure behind their intrenchments, and checked by the authority and experience of the brave old Putnam, reserved their fire for the near approach of the British troops, when a close and incessant discharge of musketry took place, the men in the works, as soon as they emptied their pieces, being supplied with others ready loaded. The assailants were thrown into some disorder by this continued blaze of death, and gave way in several parts. It is said that General Howe, who led on the right wing, was, for a few seconds, left nearly alone, most of the officers round his person being either killed or wounded. At this juncture, General Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, was eminently serviceable in rallying the troops, and by a happy manœuvre almost instantaneously brought them back to the charge.

The British soldiers, stung with the reflection of having given way before an enemy whom they despised, now returned with irresistible impetuosity, forced the intrenchments with fixed bayonets, and drove the Americans from their works. The latter, thus driven, fled with precipitation; but as no pursuit was ordered, they were suffered to retire unmolested, except in passing Charlestown Neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow sloop of war and some floating batteries; and here the provincials sustained their greatest loss. The whole, however, amounted, according to their own accounts, only to 449 men, of whom 145 were killed or missing, and the rest wounded. But the victory was more dearly purchased by the British troops, of whom 226 were killed, and 828 wounded, nineteen commissioned officers being amongst the former, and seventy amongst the latter. The deaths of Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, and of Majors Pitcairn, Williams and Spendlove, who signalized themselves in an eminent degree on this occasion, were sincerely regretted. The Americans also lost some officers of rank; but they lamented most the fate of Dr. Warren, the president of the provincial congress, who, acting as a major-general, commanded the party in the redoubt, and was killed, fighting gallantly at their head.

Few engagements are free from some accident or mistake; and one, which occurred in the action at Bunker's Hill, is supposed to have rendered that day more disastrous than it would otherwise have been to the British forces. During the battle, a supply of cannon-ball, sent from Boston, being of larger dimensions than fitted the calibres of the field-pieces, the farther use of the artillery was thereby prevented. Another circumstance which appears unaccountable is, that the soldiers were

encumbered with three days' provisions and knapsacks on their backs, which, together with cartridge-box, ammunition, and firelock, may be estimated at 125 pounds weight. Under such a load, enough of itself to exhaust them before they came to action, they were ordered in the middle of a hot summer's day, and in the very face of a most destructive and unremitted fire, to ascend a steep hill, covered with grass reaching to their knees, and intersected by the walls and fences of various enclosures, when much of the difficulty and danger might have been avoided by landing them in the rear of the provincial intrenchment. This would also have rendered the breast-work of the Americans useless ; and their whole detachment, being thereby enclosed in the peninsula, would probably have surrendered at discretion. Even in pursuing the other plan, the assault on the whole front seems injudicious, when the enemy's left wing was covered with nothing more than a breast-work of rails and hay, easy to be scrambled over ; and behind it was an open hill that commanded their redoubt and lines. Thus the valour, perseverance and discipline of the British troops were put to the severest trial ; whilst the Americans, no pursuit being ordered, boasted that, though driven from a post, they had nearly all the advantages of a victory, as they put a stop to the offensive operations of an enemy sent to subdue them, and immediately after the action threw up works upon another eminence opposite to Bunker's Hill, on their side of Charlestown ; so that the British troops were as closely invested in that peninsula as they had before been in Boston. The blockade was continued during the remainder of the year, without any decisive efforts on either side.

The general congress met at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, regardless of a circular letter from

Lord Dartmouth, forbidding in the King's name the election of delegates, and proceeded to exercise all the powers of a supreme legislative body. Among their first acts were resolutions for raising an army, and establishing a large paper currency for its payment ; also a declaration that, by the late violation of the charter of Massachusetts Bay, the compact between the crown and that colony was dissolved. Lord North's conciliatory proposition having been referred to them by the provincial assemblies, was unanimously rejected as unreasonable and insidious ; and this rejection determined its fate in all the colonies. Even Georgia, though peculiarly favoured by the British government, joined in the general alliance ; and both New York and Carolina, notwithstanding their former moderation, had also sent delegates to the congress. From these accessions to the confederacy, they henceforward assumed the title of *The Thirteen United Colonies*. Congress paid so little regard to General Gage's proclamation, that they chose Hancock for their president, under whose signature a " Declaration " was published by their order on the 6th of July, setting forth the causes and necessity of their closing with the appeal, which, they said, was made by the British legislature from reason to arms. After entering into a detail of all the old grievances, they charged General Gage with having vented falsehoods and calumnies, and with a breach of his promise to the inhabitants of Boston, that they should have liberty to quit the town, and to take with them their other property, if they would lay down their arms. The declaration then stated, that endeavours had been used by the British government to instigate the Canadians and Indians to attack the colonists ; that schemes had also been formed to excite domestic enemies against them ; and that they felt, as far as the vengeance of administration

could inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. The congress next assumed a loftier tone. "Our internal resources," said they, "are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favour towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves." But, as they were sensible that the hint of *foreign assistance*, though necessary to encourage their own people, must alarm the inhabitants of other parts of the empire, where they were still desirous of retaining partisans, they added, that necessity had not yet driven them into that desperate measure, and that they had not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from the mother country. This declaration was followed by distinct addresses to the people of Great Britain and of Ireland, more fully insisting upon the same points; and by a second petition to the King, which was brought to England by Richard Penn, proprietary governor of Pennsylvania. It was certainly expressed in respectful and conciliatory terms, but the real sentiments of the petitioners must be gathered from their actions rather than their professions.

Soon after the vote for raising an army, the commission of general and commander-in-chief was given by congress to George Washington, Esq. a gentleman of ample fortune in Virginia, who had distinguished himself early in life by his gallant exertions in the late war, particularly on the day of Braddock's defeat, when, at the head of the provincial militia, he covered the retreat of the regular troops, and prevented their total destruction. So

universal was the high opinion of his talents and his virtues, that the voice of the people may be said to have directed the appointment; and no man ever more fully justified their hopes. The congress also nominated Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, major-generals, and Horatio Gates, adjutant-general. Ward, Schuyler, and Putnam, were natives of America, Gates and Lee were Englishmen: they had both acquired some reputation during the last war: Lee in particular had signalized himself in the defence of Portugal; but a disdain of superiority, rather than a genuine ardour, caused him to be warmly attached to the principle of democratic liberty. On the prospect of a war with the colonies, he resigned his commission in the British army, and offered his services to congress, by whom they were gladly accepted. These and some other arrangements for the support of the army being made, congress soon threw off the mask, and no longer adhering to the plausible system of mere defence, formed a bold scheme of hostile invasion. A variety of circumstances concurred to point out Canada as an inviting object of attack. Its situation, at the back of the other colonies, stretching from Nova Scotia almost to the southern extremity of Pennsylvania, left it very much exposed to inroads, and made it, at the same time, a desirable acquisition for the security of all the adjoining settlements. The first congress had, by their insinuating address, considerably weakened the attachment of the inhabitants of that province to its governors, and filled them with prejudices against the Quebec act, which was represented as a violation of the most sacred compacts, as an attempt to rivet the chains of arbitrary power on those new subjects of Great Britain, and to deprive them for ever of the chief blessings resulting from her constitution. In con-

sequence of these suggestions, the French Canadians became as much disgusted with the act as the British settlers ; and when lately called upon by General Carleton to take up arms, they absolutely refused to interfere in any disputes that might arise between the mother country and her natural children. But the present congress, well knowing that general's zeal, enterprising spirit, and military talents, were convinced that, as soon as his authority was supported by the arrival of a body of English forces, he would compel the people implicitly to obey him, and to second any designs he might form against an open and widely extended frontier. They resolved, therefore, to carry the war at once into the very heart of Canada, though such a step exposed to the world the fallacy of all their former professions. Opposition to government had hitherto been kept up on the avowed principle of maintaining certain rights and immunities of the people, and in such a case, supposing the premises to be fairly stated, resistance was looked upon by many as consistent with the spirit of the British constitution, and as sanctioned by precedents of the first authority ; but to render themselves directly the aggressors, and invade a province to which they had no claim, totally overthrew every plea of justifiable resistance.

In pursuance of the resolutions of congress to attack Canada, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery were dispatched with 3000 men to Lake Champlain, across which flat-bottomed boats were to convey them down the river Sorrel. Crown Point, near the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, and Ticonderoga, at the north end of Lake George, which form, as it were, the gates of Canada on that quarter, had been already secured by a party of private adventurers under the command of Ethan Allen, whom they called their colonel, though he had not any commission from the congress. Gene-

ral Montgomery, on his arrival at Crown Point with a party of the forces destined for the expedition, having received intelligence that a large schooner and some other armed vessels, which lay at the fort of St. John on the river Sorrel, were preparing to enter the lake, and thereby effectually obstruct his design, proceeded directly to a little island, called Isle aux Noix, which commands the entrance of the lake, and took necessary measures to guard against the passage of those vessels. Being joined by Schuyler a few days after, they were induced to try the success of a sudden attack on St. John's; but they soon felt the necessity of deferring their operations until the arrival of some expected artillery and reinforcements. In this interval Schuyler returned to Albany, in order to conclude a treaty which he had been for some time negotiating with the Indians in that quarter, when the command of the detachment devolved on Montgomery, who, being joined by the expected reinforcements, advanced to the siege of St. John's on the 17th of September. Nearly at the same time Allen thought to raise himself into importance by surprising the town of Montreal, which he attempted at the head of about 150 Americans and Indians, without communicating his intentions to Montgomery, or endeavouring to procure any other assistance. The event was suitable to the temerity of the undertaking. Being met at some distance from the town by the militia and a few regulars under the command of Major Campbell, he was defeated and taken prisoner, with near forty of his party, such of the rest as survived escaping in the woods.

Montgomery's progress in the siege of St. John was very much retarded by the want of sufficient ammunition, as well as by the intrepid and vigorous resistance of the garrison, though greatly inferior in

number to the assailants. The whole military force of Canada, at the time of its being invaded, was only about 800 men, 500 of whom, under the command of Major Preston, were posted at St. John's; and the defence of another little fortress called Chamblée, which lay five miles farther in the country, was intrusted to Major Stopford and 160 men. General Carleton, by the greatest exertions, collected at Montreal near 1000 men chiefly Canadians, and with these he intended to join some new levies under Colonel Maclean, and march to the relief of St. John's; but, upon his attempting to pass over from Montreal, his landing was opposed by a body of provincials at Longueil, who had planted two pieces of cannon on the shore, with which they easily repulsed the Canadians, and forced General Carleton to relinquish his design. Nor was Colonel Maclean more fortunate; for though he had with unwearied diligence got together about 600 men, yet, being fiercely attacked by some provincials, and the news of General Carleton's repulse arriving at the same juncture, he was deserted by almost half his followers, who were natives of the country; and he therefore thought it advisable, without waiting for farther instructions, to return to Quebec with the rest of his party, consisting of Scotch emigrants, who had lately arrived in America, but in consequence of the troubles had not obtained settlements.

A detachment of Montgomery's army had now made themselves masters of Fort Chamblée, where they found 124 barrels of gunpowder, besides other stores, which enabled the American commander to push the siege of St. John's with fresh vigour. The garrison, after holding out to the last extremity, surrendered on the 13th of November. Immediately on this event, as Montreal was incapable of making any defence, General Carleton did not

stay there to wait the certain advance of a victorious enemy only twelve miles distant, but was conveyed down the river, by favour of a dark night, in a whale boat with muffled paddles, past the provincial guards and batteries, and arrived safely at Quebec, which he found environed with danger from an unexpected quarter.

Colonel Arnold, an active and enterprising officer in the service of congress, having obtained General Washington's approbation of a plan for penetrating into the lower part of Canada, by a route hitherto untried, had set off from the camp near Boston in the middle of September, with about 1100 men, and, after suffering incredible hardships, reached the plains of Canada in six weeks after his departure from Boston, and encamped opposite to Quebec, at a spot called Point Levi. But notwithstanding the consternation occasioned by his sudden appearance, and the supposed impossibility of such an achievement, he was repulsed with great slaughter in his first attempt to force the gate of St. Louis on the 14th of November. This was chiefly owing to the very judicious and gallant conduct of Colonel Macclean, who, with his faithful adherents, had entered the city the evening before. General Carleton arrived on the 20th; and Arnold, fully convinced of the fruitlessness of any farther efforts without artillery, which he could not have brought with him, resolved to wait for Montgomery's arrival. The latter had been detained, after the capture of Montreal, in preparing batteaux with light artillery to be employed against some armed vessels, on board of which were Brigadier-general Prescott and several other officers, with a large quantity of military stores. They were soon obliged to surrender, it being impracticable to save the ships; and Montgomery having left some troops in the forts, and sent detachments into different parts of the pro-

vince to tempt the Canadians to engage in the rebellion, as well as to forward supplies, pushed on, with as many men as could be spared from these services, to join Arnold at Point Levi. On the 5th of December the junction took place, and Montgomery sent a flag with a summons, which was fired at from the town, and all correspondence forbidden. The governor's first care was to oblige those to quit the town, with their families, who refused to take up arms in its defence, the whole number of the garrison amounting only to 1500 men, a number very disproportioned to its defence, and composed principally of recruits, militia, marines, and seamen belonging to the ships that wintered in the harbour. It does not appear that Montgomery's forces were considerably superior in number or quality, to those that defended the town. He commenced a bombardment with five small mortars; and, in a few days after, opened a six gun battery at about 700 yards distance from the walls: but his metal, which consisted only of twelve pounders, was too light to do any great damage; and his batteries, being composed of snow and water that quickly became solid ice, were demolished almost as soon as they were erected. The assailants now felt themselves in a very unpleasant situation: the winter began to be severely felt; the ground was covered with a deep snow; and human nature did not seem capable of long withstanding the united rigours of the season and the climate in the field. The time also for which many of Montgomery's soldiers had engaged was expiring; and as they might insist on returning home, he thought that something decisive must be done without delay. To attempt the city by storm seemed an effort truly desperate; this, however, was determined upon; and early in the morning, on the last day of the year, Montgomery, having

divided his army into four unequal parts for the purpose of distracting the garrison, undertook, with the largest division, consisting of 900 men, the most perilous part of the enterprise. He was killed in the first onset : all the officers and soldiers near his person shared the same fate ; and the rest, after sustaining for about half an hour a dreadful discharge of cannon and musketry, retreated in the utmost disorder. Arnold, with about 700 men, was for some time more successful, having, in less than an hour, forced the first and second barriers of that quarter against which his attack was directed ; but his leg being shattered by a musket ball early in the engagement, he was carried off to the camp. His officers and men, however, knowing nothing of Montgomery's misfortune, pushed on with unabated ardour, and were actually applying ladders to the third barrier, when they received a sudden and irrecoverable check. The main force of the garrison, now relieved from other objects, was turned against this bold party of assailants ; and whilst they were already fully occupied in front, a large detachment with several field pieces poured upon their rear, and compelled them, after maintaining the conflict for three hours, to lay down their arms. The prisoners were treated with the greatest humanity by the governor, whose conduct throughout the conflict merited every eulogium. The shattered remains of the besiegers, who were reduced to about 700, retired a few miles from the city, where they strengthened their quarters under the apprehension of a pursuit from the garrison ; but though the action had made them greatly superior in number, they were unfit for a service of that nature.

The mortification of congress at the failure of this expedition, of the success of which they had formed the most sanguine expectations, was particularly aggravated by the loss of Montgomery,

whom they looked upon as second only to Washington in military genius. He was a native of Ireland, had served with great applause in the late war, and was regretted both by friend and foe, his qualities and disposition having procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities had of public esteem. Having married a lady and purchased an estate in New York, he was from thence induced to consider himself as an American, and, forgetting the duties of allegiance imposed on him by his birth, to devote his talents to the service of the congress, who gave him the rank of brigadier-general. His conduct in the expedition to Canada was equally spirited and judicious; and his heroism, in the last scene, shone forth with increasing lustre. His body, being found the day after the attack, was interred with all military and funeral honours by General Carleton, who had the magnanimity to esteem and acknowledge merit even in an enemy.

The events of this first campaign, as it may be called, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and in Canada, seemed to require a particular detail; but a general view of what occurred at the same period in the other provinces will be sufficient. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, in consequence of the disputes long subsisting between him and the people, which rose by degrees to the most alarming violence, was induced to take refuge on board the Fowey man of war in the month of June; and his authority being soon after disavowed by the convention of delegates, he proclaimed martial law, and immediate emancipation to all negroes and indentured servants able and willing to bear arms in his Majesty's service—a measure which caused the greatest irritation, without being productive of any adequate advantage. At length, a demand was made by the shipping in the bay of Chesapeak, to

the inhabitants of the town of Norfolk, for provisions and other usual supplies; which being peremptorily refused, a heavy cannonade was commenced, and in a few hours the whole town, containing 8000 inhabitants, and one of the most flourishing in the colony, was reduced to ashes. This event took place on the 1st of January, 1776, and the loss was estimated at above 200,000*l*. In the adjacent country of Maryland, Governor Eden's moderation, though it could not ultimately prevent revolt, served to delay those fatal extremities; and, when the British government was entirely superseded, he retired from the province, carrying with him the esteem of a very numerous party. In the Carolinas, Lord William Campbell and Governor Martin, adopting the more vigorous but unsuccessful policy of Lord Dunmore, was also compelled to withdraw for safety on board the King's ships, lying off the coast. In Pennsylvania a military association was established throughout the province; and a similar spirit, indicating itself in different modes, pervaded all the other colonies, where the articles of proposed confederation and perpetual union, published in the summer by the congress, were approved, though not formally ratified till the year after, and where the resolutions of that assembly had, in the mean time, the full force and efficacy of laws.

During these proceedings on the other side of the Atlantic, no little agitation prevailed in the mother country. The public opinion began to be very much divided on the expediency and final effects of coercive measures, against which a loud clamour was raised both by the friends of the opposition, and by several mercantile bodies. The city of London in particular, impelled by the spirit which had so long existed, as well as by apprehensions of a decline of trade, had, in the latter end of February, petitioned

Parliament against the bills relating to America, and in the beginning of April presented a remonstrance to the throne on the same subject, which, being chiefly drawn up by the suggestions of Wilkes, then lord-mayor, surpassed all the former remonstrances, however disrespectful, in the violence of its language and sentiments. The King, in his answer, expressed the utmost astonishment to find any of his subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily existed in some of the colonies, and said, that, having entire confidence in the wisdom of his Parliament, the great council of the nation, he should steadily pursue those measures which they had recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of his kingdoms. In a few days after, Wilkes received a letter from the lord chamberlain, acquainting him, as chief magistrate of the city of London, that his Majesty would not receive on the throne any address, remonstrance, or petition of the lord-mayor and aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. Wilkes laid this letter, as well as the King's answer to the remonstrance, before the Midsummer meeting of the citizens for the election of their annual officers ; and did not neglect to accompany the information with some comments in his usual style. Several resolutions were then agreed to, in one of which it was declared that the advisers of such a message were enemies to the right of the subject to petition the throne ; and that the advice was calculated to intercept the complaints of the people to their sovereign, to prevent a redress of grievances, and alienate the minds of Englishmen from the Hanoverian succession. Another remonstrance was also concurred in, fully equalling the last in its strongest parts, and desiring his Majesty to consider what must be the

situation of his people here, who had nothing now to expect from America but gazettes of blood, and mutual lists of their slaughtered fellow subjects. It was farther resolved, that this address should not be presented, unless received on the throne ; but the King who had notified his pleasure to receive it at the levee, being told of the resolution of the common-hall, replied, “ I am ever ready to receive addresses and petitions ; but I am the judge where.” The common-hall, at a subsequent meeting, resolved, that the King was bound to hear the petitions of his people ;—that it was the undoubted right of the subject to be heard, and not a matter of grace and favour ;—that the late answer was a direct denial of that right ;—and that the adviser, directly or indirectly, of the refusal, was equally an enemy to the happiness and security of the King, and to the peace and liberties of the people.

Among other resolutions of the common-hall at the Midsummer meeting, public thanks were ordered to be given to the Earl of Effingham, “ for having, consistently with the principles of a true Englishman, refused to draw that sword, which had been employed to the honour of his country, against the lives and liberties of his fellow subjects in America.” The circumstances preceding this occurrence were these : His lordship’s inclination had led him when a youth into the army ; but the peace of 1763 having happily left him without employment at home, upon the breaking out of the war between the Turks and Russians, he entered as a volunteer in the service of the latter. Since his return, he joined his parliamentary friends in their opposition to the acts passed for securing the obedience of the colonies ; and finding that the regiment to which he belonged was intended for the American service, he thought it would appear inconsistent in him to enforce measures in his military character, which he

had condemned in his legislative capacity. A resignation on these principles would no doubt arise from the purest motives, but his letter on the subject to the secretary at war was strongly tinged with party spirit, and concluded with a request that, as he waived the advantage which custom entitled him to, of selling his commission, he might be allowed to retain his rank; a request which was quite unreasonable, as military rank necessarily implies a willingness to perform military service, whenever the superior authorities of King and Parliament decide in favour of war. And though the earl's courage and ambition were undisputed, every coward might avail himself of the same excuse, to desert his post in the hour of danger. The Earl of Chatham's eldest son, an ensign in the forty-seventh regiment, which was ordered to Boston, and James Wilson, Esq. a member of the opposition in the Irish House of Commons, and captain of marines, were the only conspicuous characters that resigned, the one in obedience to his father, and the other from an adherence to political opinions: but they did not solicit the retaining of their rank, though the latter of them in particular had much stronger claims than Lord Effingham, having raised 160 men on his own estate in the year 1760, and having distinguished himself in the actual service of his country during the remainder of the war.

These few resignations in the army could give no uneasiness to any government; but ministry had at this time strong reasons to apprehend a defection in the cabinet. During the summer recess, the Duke of Grafton, who had been for some years at the head of the treasury board, and now held the office of privy seal, wrote a letter to Lord North, expressing, among other points, his firm opinion that some effectual means ought to be adopted for the purpose of terminating the unfortunate differences with

America, and suggesting one method by which he thought intercourse and negociation might commence, under the offer of a truce to the revolted colonies, sanctioned by an address of both Houses to the King, on various motives of policy, affection, and humanity. He renewed the same observations in a still more earnest and decisive manner after the arrival of Mr. Penn with the petition from congress, the plausible language of which induced his grace to believe in the sincerity of their pacific and loyal professions. The petition was delivered by Mr. Penn and Mr. Lee, on the 1st of September, to Lord Dartmouth, who said, no answer would be given. The duke urged this circumstance as a new argument in favour of the step he had before recommended, observing that, if deputies from congress could not be formally acknowledged by the King, there was the greater necessity for adopting some other expedient, by which the wishes and expectations of his Majesty's American subjects might be stated and properly considered, as a want of intercourse must remain an insuperable bar to accommodation. When he found that he could not gain over any one of the cabinet to his way of thinking on this subject, he requested an audience of the King, in which he explained at full length the reasons why he could no longer take any part in the administration of affairs. The King endeavoured to demonstrate to his grace the justice, policy, and necessity of the measures now pursued; but not being able to effect the conviction he wished, his Majesty expressed his regret at parting with so experienced and faithful a servant. The duke's intentions were not publicly known till after the meeting of Parliament, when, to the astonishment of every one, even of those whom he had quitted, he declaimed against the whole system of their late proceedings, with a degree of violence equal to

that which he himself had condemned in Lord Chatham as "the effects of a distempered mind brooding over its own discontent."

About this period addresses were presented from many parts of the kingdom, condemning the conduct of the Americans, approving of the acts of government, and recommending a perseverance in the same measures, until the colonies should be brought to a full sense of their errors and their duty. The addresses on the other hand came chiefly from mercantile communities, whose private interests were likely to be materially injured by the American war. This was the case not only of those who carried on a direct trade to the colonies on the continent, but also to the West India islands, which used to receive from North America the principal articles necessary for their sustenance and support. It was therefore no wonder to see the merchants of Bristol, of Lancaster, or of other towns in the like predicament, actuated by the same motives as the merchants of London, and deprecating what they apprehended would be extremely prejudicial, if not ruinous, to those branches of commerce in which they were engaged. The same may be said of persons concerned in the Newfoundland fishery, who, in consequence of the act passed the last session for restraining the colonies from a share therein, had sent out, from England and Ireland, a greater number than usual of ships and men to be employed in it, and had sustained great loss and inconvenience, sufficient precautions not having been used to guard against the probable effects of retaliation on the part of congress, who prohibited the supplying of the British fisheries with any kinds of provision. This threw the whole business upon the banks of Newfoundland into the utmost disorder; and many of the ships, instead of being loaded with fish, were dispatched to procure

flour and provisions wherever they were to be found. The dread of famine was for a few days suspended by another terrible calamity. About 700 boats, with the people belonging to them, and 11 ships, with most of their crews, perished on the 11th of September, in a tempest, the fury of which exceeded any thing ever before experienced, even on that stormy coast. The inhabitants of such towns in England as are principally supported by the cod fishery, inconsiderately ascribed those disasters to the quarrel with America; but the petitioners on this subject to Parliament very properly confined themselves to a representation of the inconveniences they suffered from the usual resources of bread, flour, and other necessaries, being totally interrupted by the unhappy differences between Great Britain and her colonies; and concluded with a prayer for liberty to export those articles, under certain restrictions, from any part of the mother country where they could be obtained on the most reasonable terms.

A temporary alarm had also been excited at one of the out-ports by the decline of another branch of commerce, the abolition of which has since formed a glorious monument of the liberal policy and humanity of the British legislature. The inability of purchasing and providing for negroes at this juncture in the West India islands, the loss of the American market for slaves, and the impediments caused by the proclamations of council against the exportation of arms and ammunition, had, all together, nearly extinguished the American trade. This was more particularly felt at Liverpool, which had possessed a much greater part of that horrid traffic than any other port in the kingdom. As the Guinea ships arrived, they were laid up, in an uncertainty of their future destination, and their crews paid off. Those in like manner belonging to the

Greenland ships, upon their return in July and the beginning of August, were as usual discharged ; so that the number of seamen out of employ in that town was said to amount to above 2000. In this situation, the seamen complained that an attempt was made by the merchants to lower their wages ; upon which they cut the rigging of some ships to pieces, attacked some houses, and committed other acts of outrage. They, however, dispersed again, and all became quiet ; but the seizing a number of them, and sending them to prison, re-kindled the flame with greater violence. The sailors immediately assembled ; procured not only fire-arms, but cannon ; and were preparing to storm the prison, when its safety was purchased by the enlargement of their companions. But their rage was now too high to be appeased by concession, and they not only proceeded to destroy the houses of obnoxious persons, but at length marched in a body to demolish the Exchange. This danger was foreseen, or probably announced by themselves, a considerable time before the attempt, so that the Exchange was shut up, barricaded, and well garrisoned by the merchants and townsmen. The sailors, however, made several confused attacks in the evening of the 29th of August ; nor did they discontinue their efforts during the whole night and part of the ensuing morning, though several of them, through intoxication and their unguarded exposure of themselves to the fire of the defendants, were killed and wounded. The arrival of a detachment of light horse at length put an end to the tumult. It was feared by the timid, and hoped by the turbulent, that this would prove only a prelude to other disorders ; but the affair was accidental, and sufficient employment for the seamen was soon found, either in the King's service, or in other maritime adventures.

An extraordinary report of a conspiracy for seizing the King's person, and conveying him out of the kingdom, was raised by an adjutant in the guards, named Francis Richardson, a native of America, who charged a countryman of his, Stephen Sayre, Esq. then a banker in London, with this intention. The means, indeed, seemed very inadequate to the end proposed; but as the folly of an attempt did not prove the impossibility of its being made, Lord Rochford thought it his duty to issue an order for taking the accused person into custody, and for seizing his papers. After the information was read to Mr. Sayre, he replied to the whole with great firmness: he acknowledged that he had expressed himself very freely concerning the unhappy and destructive contest pending in America, and that he had said, he feared there was not spirit enough in this country to bring about a total change of men and measures: but as to any plan or intention of seizing the person of the King, or any expression which could be construed into such intention, he totally and utterly denied the charge. He was proceeding to comment on the dangerous disposition of persons high in office to encourage informers, when his attorney arrived, and advised his client not to answer any interrogatories, nor to sign any paper. Lord Rochford, who ought certainly to have accepted sufficient bail for his future appearance, was hurried by his zeal to commit Mr. Sayre close prisoner to the Tower, where no person but his wife was permitted to visit him. At the end of five days, however, an *habeas corpus* being granted for bringing him before Lord Mansfield, he was readily admitted to bail. No prosecution on the part of the crown was afterwards attempted; and the recognisance entered into before the lord chief justice being consequently discharged, Mr. Sayre sued the Earl of Rochford for illegal im-

prisonment, for which a jury gave him 1000*l.* damages.

The Parliament, which had been prorogued the 26th of May, met again on the 26th of October, after a shorter recess and at a much earlier period than usual. The speech from the throne was of great length, and, after assigning the present situation of America as the reason for meeting so early, his Majesty said, “those who have long too successfully laboured to inflame my people in America by gross misrepresentations, and to infuse into their minds a system of opinions repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies, and to their subordinate relation to Great Britain, now openly avow their revolt, hostility, and rebellion. They have raised troops, and are collecting a naval force : they have seized the public revenue and assumed to themselves legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exercise in the most arbitrary manner over the persons and properties of their fellow subjects ; and although many of these unhappy people may still retain their loyalty, and may be too wise not to see the fatal consequence of this usurpation, and wish to resist it, yet the torrent of violence has been strong enough to compel their acquiescence, till a sufficient force should appear to support them. The authors and promoters of this desperate conspiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intentions and theirs. They meant only to amuse, by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to me, whilst they were preparing for a general revolt. On our part, though it was declared in your last session, that a rebellion existed within the province of the Massachuset’s Bay, yet even that province we wished rather to reclaim than to subdue.” The speech proceeded to state, after alluding to the im-

portance of the colonies to Great Britain, that for the purpose of putting a speedy end to the contest by the most decisive exertions, the sea and land forces had been greatly augmented ; that the King had received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance ; that Gibraltar and Port Mahon had been garrisoned by his Majesty's electoral troops ; and that when the unhappy and deluded multitude, against whom the increased force would be directed, should become sensible of their error, the misled would be received with tenderness and mercy. The debates, to which the usual addresses gave rise, were of great length. The opposition in the House of Commons had now some of the first orators in the kingdom at their head, Mr. Burke and his friends having been lately joined by Mr. Fox, who was "himself a host." Though much immersed in the dissipations of fashionable life, the blemishes of his private character were lost in the effulgence of his genius, and the matchless powers of his eloquence. He had been dismissed, the preceding year, from his seat on the treasury bench, with circumstances, it was said, of rudeness ; and it must be acknowledged that his opposition to Lord North was sometimes acrimonious. This spirit displayed itself in his speech on the amendment moved by Lord John Cavendish, censuring the rashness and inefficacy of the late measures, and recommending the consideration of other means of restoring order to the distracted affairs of the empire, without the dangerous expedient of calling in foreign forces, or the more dreadful calamity of shedding British blood by British arms. Such means were, indeed, most devoutly to be wished. Mr. Burke advised England "no longer to appear like a porcupine, armed all over with acts of Parliament." Mr. Temple Luttrell asserted, that the mother country, notwithstanding the false parade of her strength and

resources, was unequal to the contest ; and borrowing the words of Sir Charles Sedley, to express his astonishment that a nation sick at heart should wear so florid a countenance, he asked whether it was not a hectic bloom, which is frequently found to accompany a radical decay of the constitution, or rather, some artificial beautifier spread over the surface of a cadaverous substance for popular show and delusion. General Conway made an apology for voting against the address, and for differing from the rest of the King's servants with whom he was joined. He reprobated the coercive system with regard to America, and wished to see the declaratory bill, a bill strenuously defended by him when secretary of state, now repealed, since, he said, so bad an use had been made of it. The independency of his spirit, in refusing implicitly to support every measure of government, might have done him honour ; but his frequent and rapid changes, from one side or party to another, could not be viewed without some astonishment at the contrast between his firmness in the field, and his versatility in the senate. Wilkes called the taxing of the colonists *felony*, and the attempt to make them acquiesce *murder*. Governor Johnstone, among other points, touched on one which was enforced by several speakers of the same side of the question. They said, that the charge brought against the Americans, of endeavouring to amuse, by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to the King, whilst they were preparing for a general revolt, was unfounded,—was directly contrary to their most express declarations, and to what every person knew of their temper and disposition. The colonists, it was confidently asserted, never meant to break off their connexion with the mother country, though they might be driven to it, and

would undoubtedly prefer independence to slavery. These references to the declarations of the congress, and the arguments drawn from the supposed coincidence of their sentiments with their language, were ably answered by the advocates for the address, who argued that the provincial assemblies and the general congress had asserted, in the most positive terms, an exclusive right of legislation in all matters of internal policy ; had denied the authority of Great Britain to keep a single soldier on the whole continent without their consent ; and had seized all the powers of government, raising armies, issuing bills for their support, and engaging in every plan not merely of resistance or defence, but of hostile invasion and unjustifiable attack, at the very instant that they spoke of constitutional obedience, and that their petitions breathed moderation and peace. Was it more consistent with wisdom to infer their intentions from their words than from their deeds ? Every attempt that could be made to soften the colonists had been put into practice without effect ; and in proportion as the parent state acceded to their wishes, their pretensions became more overbearing. In this state, and after the steps already taken, it was impossible to recede without the loss of authority and honour : no alternative, in fact, was left for the British nation, but to maintain its just sovereignty, or to give up America for ever. The clause in the address on which ministers were most pressed, was that which thanked his Majesty for sending a part of his electoral troops to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, in order that a larger number of the established forces of this kingdom might be applied to the maintenance of its authority. The introduction of foreigners into any part of the British dominions, without the previous consent of Parliament, was so alarming to the prejudices of the old Whigs and independent

members, and was by them deemed so repugnant to the principles of the Bill of Rights, that no endeavours to prove the expediency or legality of the measure could give them satisfaction ; and Lord North, in order to secure their concurrence in the address, was obliged to say, that, though he had advised the measure as believing it right, yet as other gentlemen, for whom he had ever held the highest deference, seemed to be of another opinion, he had no objection that the question should be brought in a regular and parliamentary manner before the House. This declaration, though not made till the next evening, brought back to their usual support of administration many who had gone away without voting the night before. The result of the first day's debate, as it was called, though continued till half-past four o'clock the ensuing morning, was the rejection of Lord John Cavendish's amendment by a majority of 278 against 108 ; after which the motion for the address was carried without a division. As the forms of the House rendered it necessary to receive the report upon the address from the committee the afternoon of the second day, the principal speakers had but a few hours for relaxation or repose before they again entered on the discussion of the same topics. As Lord North's concession satisfied most of the country gentlemen, the amendment was rejected, and the address, in its original form, agreed to, by a majority of 176 to 72. To this account of the proceedings of the Commons at the opening of the session, it is unnecessary to add any detail of the debate to which a similar address and the proposal of a similar amendment gave rise in the House of Peers, as the arguments were substantially the same, however diversified by the style and manner of the different speakers. The Duke of Grafton, who now avowed his defection from his colleagues,

seconded the Marquis of Rockingham's amendment, which was lost by a majority of 69 against 29 ; and the address was carried by 76 to 33. Nineteen peers signed a protest, embodying their objections to the address. A few days after, the privy seal, which had been held by his grace, was given to the Earl of Dartmouth ; and Lord George Germain was appointed secretary of state for the colonies. Lord Rochford having, at the same time, retired from public business, the Earl of Weymouth was reinstated in the office of secretary for the southern department, which he had resigned in the year 1771. These were followed by some other promotions of less consequence, among which, however, that of Lord Lyttleton to the chief justiceship in Eyre, deserves mention. This young nobleman, who succeeded to the title in the year 1773, had already displayed such talents as to create an expectation that the brilliancy of his genius would soon outshine the transmissive lustre of his father's reputation, but he unfortunately inherited a very small portion of that amiable parent's moral excellencies. Allured by the false charms of vicious pleasure, he indulged without restraint in those fatal excesses which are equally incompatible with present esteem and future hope, and in a few years, sank into the grave, the early victim of dissipation.

The commencement of the session was occupied with a variety of important topics. The legality of sending the Hanoverian troops to Gibraltar and Port Mahon, without the previous consent of Parliament, was discussed in both Houses, on motions declaring it dangerous and unconstitutional, which were disposed of by the previous question. A bill for enabling his Majesty to assemble the militia, in cases of rebellion in any part of the British dominions, was carried after much opposition ; and

28,000 seamen, and 55,000 men for the land service, were voted, after being, also, warmly debated. A motion was made by Mr. Temple Luttrell for an address to his Majesty, that the commissioners appointed to act in America, for the conciliatory purposes held out in the speech, should be authorized to receive proposals from any collective body, that should be found to convey the sentiments of one or more of the continental colonies, suspending all inquiry into the forms under which they may be disposed to treat; which was negatived without a division. On the same day, November the 7th, the petition from the congress, among other papers, having been laid before the Lords, the Duke of Richmond observed, that he saw Mr. Penn below the bar, and moved, that he might be examined, in order to establish the authenticity of the petition, before they entered upon its contents. After a long debate, the motion was rejected by a majority of 56 to 22. The duke then moved, that Mr. Penn should be examined on a future day; and the following Friday, November the 10th, was appointed for that purpose, when he declared his belief that the sentiments expressed in the petition were sincere, and that the congress were inclined to acknowledge the imperial authority of the mother country, though not in taxation. The duke then moved, that the petition from the continental congress to the King was ground for a conciliation, which was negatived by 86 against 33.

Mr. Burke, on the 16th of November, presented a petition from some clothiers in Wiltshire against coercive measures, which he followed up by a renewal of his conciliatory efforts. He commenced by referring to the ancient disputes respecting taxation in the reign of Edward the First. The Kings of England had, before that time, levied taxes upon the people by their own authority, which

they justified upon the same principles and arguments as those now used to support the right of taxing America, contending that the crown, being charged with the public defence, must also be furnished with the means of providing for it ; yet one of the greatest and wisest of the English monarchs agreed to an absolute surrender of this claim in the famous statute "*de tallagio non concedendo*." Supposing Great Britain the sovereign, and America the subject, Mr. Burke made a renunciation of the exercise of taxation, without interfering in the question of right, the first object of his bill, retaining the power of levying duties for the regulation of commerce, but the money to be at the disposal of the general assemblies : the coercive laws were to be repealed ; a general amnesty to be granted, upon the Americans laying down their arms within a given time ; and all future revenues to be free aids from the subjects there as well as here. Though the bill was rejected by 210 voices to 105, the majority against Mr. Burke was smaller than in any former divisions. Mr. Hartley had not this consolation on the failure of his second attempt, the first of his resolutions being rejected by a majority of 123 against 21, and the remainder without a division.

On the 20th of November Lord North brought in a bill prohibiting all trade and intercourse with the colonies, while in rebellion : it made their ships lawful prizes, and declared their property, taken on the high seas or in harbour, to be forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his Majesty's ships of war : it repealed the Boston port, the fishery, and restraining acts, their provisions, in some instances, being deemed insufficient, and liable to interfere with the intended law : but, that the door of peace might yet be left open, the crown was authorized to appoint com-

missioners with power to grant pardons to individuals, and to determine whether any part or the whole of a colony were returned to a state of obedience, in which case the penal restrictions were to cease in their favour. The opposition affirmed this bill to be a formal act of abdication of our government over the colonies; it was, however, carried through both Houses, and, on the 23d of December, received the royal assent, when the Lords adjourned to the 23d of January, the Commons having done the same two days before.

CHAPTER XI.

Debates respecting a message to the parliament of Ireland, requiring troops from thence—Treaties for German troops laid before the House, and consequent debates—Supply; Ways and Means—Duke of Grafton's proposition for a conditional suspension of arms in America—Motion for a militia in Scotland rejected—Trial of the Duchess of Kingston before the House of Lords for bigamy—Inquiry into licenses granted to ships bound for North America—Conclusion of the session—Campaign in America—Evacuation of Boston by the British army—Quebec relieved, and the siege raised—Expedition against the Cedars—The Americans repulsed at Trois Rivières—They evacuate Montreal, St. John's, and Chamblée—Defeated on Lake Champlain—Defeat of the loyalists in the southern provinces—Late arrival of reinforcements—Unsuccessful attempt upon Charlestown—Admiral and General Howe arrive at Staten Island—Congress declare the United States free and independent, and renounce all allegiance to the mother country—Lord Howe's efforts for accommodation—Determines to commence hostilities—Descent on Long Island—Defeat of the Americans at Brooklyn—Conference between Lord Howe and a committee of the Congress—New York abandoned by General Washington—Further successes of the British—General Lee taken prisoner by Colonel Harcourt—Rhode Island taken—General Howe's tardiness in following up his advantages—Three regiments of Hessians surprised and taken at Trenton—Lord Cornwallis outmanœuvred by Washington—Situation of both armies at the close of the campaign—Loss sustained in the

West India trade—Symptoms of enmity in France and Spain—Meeting of Parliament, speech and address—Motion for a committee to consider acts affecting America—Naval and military supplies—Education of the Princes—Scheme for checking the ravages of fire—The rope-house at Portsmouth destroyed by an incendiary.

THE sensations excited by the American contest communicated to Ireland, and the spirit of opposition to the measures of government, which had so long prevailed in the city of London, extended in some measure to Dublin. In both capitals the party favourable to congress appeared on the increase, and the affairs of America becoming more unpromising, the perplexities of ministers were daily augmented. The first important discussion in Parliament, after the recess, arose from the following circumstance. The Earl of Harcourt, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had sent a written message to the House of Commons, containing a requisition, in the King's name, of 4000 troops from thence for the American service, not to be paid by the Irish establishment during their absence, and, if desired by them, to be replaced by an equal number of foreign Protestant troops, the charges of which should be defrayed without any expense to Ireland. The Commons granted 4000 men, but rejected the offer of foreign troops, rather wishing to embody the militia for their internal defence. This liberty of disposing of the public money without the knowledge of the British House of Commons, was considered by some as a stretch of power which ought not to be passed over in silence, and on the 15th of February, Mr. Thomas Townsend moved, that the Earl of Harcourt was herein chargeable with a breach of privilege, and had acted in derogation of the authority of the British

House of Commons ; and that a committee be appointed to inquire into the same. It was stated, on the other hand, that the measure was in exact conformity to that ancient and acknowledged prerogative, by which the crown, upon an emergency, raised troops of its own will, and then applied to Parliament for the payment, or entered into treaties for the same purpose with foreign princes, and pledged the national faith for the due performance of the articles. The motion for a committee to inquire into the matter of complaint was rejected by a majority of 224 to 106 ; and some other motions for laying the votes of the Irish Parliament, relative to this business, before the House, and for passing a censure on the lord-lieutenant's conduct, were negatived without a division.

The treaties entered into with the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Count of Hanau, for hiring about 17,000 of their troops for the American service, were laid before Parliament by Lord North, who moved, on the 29th of February, to refer these compacts to the committee of supply, which occasioned a long and warm debate. The opposition contended that nothing could be more disgraceful to Great Britain, than to be obliged to apply to the petty princes of Germany for succours to enable her to subdue her own subjects, and insisted on the danger of the measure, the expense attending the troops, and the little probability of their success. On the tendency of the example to induce the Americans to form alliances with foreign powers, it was strongly urged, that the colonists had hitherto ventured to commit themselves singly in this arduous contest, but it could not be doubted, that in future they would think themselves fully justified, both by our example and the laws of self-preservation, to engage foreigners to assist them in opposing those merce-

naries, whom we were about to transport for their destruction. Nor was it doubtful that, in case of their application, European powers, of a rank far superior to that of those petty princes to whom we so abjectly sued for aid, would consider themselves to be equally entitled to interfere in the quarrel between us and our colonies. With regard to the expense in particular, it was said, that the German princes had set no bounds to their extortions : they were to have levy money at the rate of above 7*l.* a man ; the troops were to enter into pay before they began to march ; the princes had even the modesty to demand a doubly subsidy, which, in one instance, was to be continued for two years after the return of the troops to their respective countries. The ministry, in reply, entered fully into the defence of the measure, arguing that the terms were substantially the same as those of former treaties, by which Great Britain had obtained foreign troops for purposes of infinitely less national importance than the present ; that the suddenness of the requisition, with the disagreeable circumstances attending this service, would have warranted higher demands : and that even supposing such a number of forces could have been speedily raised at home, it could not be expected that raw and undisciplined troops, who had never seen any service, and who were not yet hardened to any change of food, climate, or habits of life, could answer the purpose so well as tried veterans, whose constitutional and military habits were already formed. The inconvenience and loss of withdrawing so many useful hands from husbandry and manufactures were also urged, adding, that the expense in that case would not end with the war, but that the nation would be saddled with the heavy and lasting encumbrance of the half-pay establishment of near thirty battalions : so that, in every

point of view, those treaties would be found equally prudent and necessary. The debate continued till two o'clock next morning, when the question being put on the minister's motion, it was carried by a majority of 242 to 88. In the course of debate the general principle of letting out subjects on hire, to fight in the cause of foreigners, was severely censured. Lord Irnham observed, "I shall say little to the feelings of those princes who can sell their subjects for such purposes. We have read of the humourist Sancho's wish, that if he were a prince, all his subjects should be black-a-moors, as he could, by the sale of them, easily turn them into ready money; but that wish, however it may appear ridiculous, and unbecoming a sovereign, is much more innocent than a prince's availing himself of his vassals for the purpose of sacrificing them in such a destructive war, where he has the additional crime of making them destroy much better and nobler beings than themselves." The subject was again agitated on receiving the report from the committee of supply on the 4th of March; and with still greater vehemence next day in the House of Lords, where the Duke of Richmond moved for an address to his Majesty, which, besides several observations relative to the treaties, took in a comprehensive view of the situation of American affairs, and the consequences of a perseverance in the present measures, all tending to give weight to a request, that his Majesty would be pleased to countermand the march of those foreign troops, and likewise give directions for an immediate suspension of hostilities in America, in order to lay a foundation for a happy and permanent reconciliation between the contending parts of the empire. The duke's motion being rejected by a majority of 100 to 32, the proposed address was entered on the

journals in an unusual form, with the signatures of ten of the minority protesting against its rejection, but assigning no reason.

Among the various estimates and accounts which were referred to the committee of supply, the opposition directed their attacks particularly to that for defraying extraordinary expenses of the land forces, and other services incurred between the 9th of March, 1775, and the 31st of January, 1776, which amounted to 845,165*l*. Colonel Barré and Mr. Burke exerted all the powers of their eloquence, all the force of their wit and ridicule, in contrasting the most brilliant campaigns in English history with the exploits of the army at Boston: Marlborough's victories in the year 1704, and the conquest of Canada in 1760, were painted in glowing colours: Blenheim and the heights of Abraham were opposed to Lexington and Bunker's Hill; and the river Mystic was ludicrously placed in the same view with the Rhine and the Danube: the salvation of the German empire, the ruin of an ambitious power which had been for half a century the scourge and terror of Europe, the security and enlargement of the British dominions of North America, had not, it was alleged, in any degree, equalled the expenses of the last campaign: both speakers concluded with high panegyrics on General Montgomery, the account of whose death had arrived a few days before. On the other hand, as a proof that the money had been properly applied, the requisitions of the commander in chief were produced, which were to be followed by proper vouchers for every article; and as to the little progress made in the first campaign, it was argued that the union of the colonies in forming the blockade of Boston, and preventing the supply which the abundance of that country yielded, could not have been expected; that it had occasioned delay in order to prepare for more vigorous

measures, and had also rendered it necessary to send all the provisions for the British army from Europe, which was the immediate cause of those extraordinary expenses. In reply to the praises bestowed on General Montgomery, Lord North admitted them all, but still he was only a brave, able, humane, and generous rebel ; so that one might almost apply to him a passage in Cato—“Curse on his virtues, they’ve undone his country.”—In the first division, the numbers were 180 against 57 ; and the House did not divide in any subsequent debate on the same subject. The whole supplies for the service of the current year amounted to very near 9,100,000*l.* : the ways and means resolved upon in the committee, consisting of the malt duty, the land tax, which, after a warm debate, had been raised from three to four shillings in the pound, exchequer bills, and the produce of the sinking fund, with some smaller resources, were calculated at little more than 7,150,000*l.* : in order to make up the deficiency a loan of 2,000,000*l.* was necessary, the interest of which was provided for by a tax of twenty shillings each on gentlemen’s four wheeled carriages, a tax of five pounds each on stage coaches, an additional stamp of one shilling on deeds, an additional halfpenny on newspapers, another sixpenny stamp on cards, and a half crown stamp on dice : a vote of credit for 1,000,000*l.* was also passed, to enable his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses that might be incurred on account of military service, and to make good the charges of calling in the remainder of the light gold coin.

A motion, by Mr. Fox, for a committee to inquire into the causes of the ill success of his Majesty’s arms in North America, and of the defection of the people of Quebec, was rejected by a majority of 240 against 104.

The last proposal of a conciliatory nature was introduced by the Duke of Grafton, who moved, on the 14th of March, for an address to his Majesty, beseeching him to issue a proclamation, declaring, that if the colonies, within a reasonable time before or after the arrival of the troops destined for America, should present a petition to the commander in chief, or to the commissioners under the act for preventing all trade and intercourse with the several colonies therein specified, setting forth what they consider to be their just rights and real grievances, his Majesty would consent to a suspension of arms; and that such petition should be received, considered, and answered. The duke argued, that the commissioners had only power to receive submissions, not to make concessions, and that the new doctrine of unconditional submission, which had been broached in the other House, would have the worst effects on the minds of the Americans. France and Spain, he said, were collecting great naval and military forces, and towards the close of the last summer two French gentlemen went to America, and held a conference with General Washington at the provincial camp, who referred them to the continental congress, whither they immediately repaired. Little stress was laid by the lords in administration on either of those circumstances. They contended that the power of granting pardons was competent to every just and requisite purpose, and that the submission expected from the colonies was the only thing that could lay a lasting basis for the future security of the constitutional rights of that country, the supreme legislative controlling authority of this, and the general interests of the whole empire. With regard to the information of two gentlemen having visited Cambridge, the head quarters of the provincial army, and having afterwards gone to Philadelphia, they might either have been travellers on a

tour of curiosity, or merchants who went to negotiate matters in the way of trade on their own private account. The duke's motion was rejected by a majority of 91 to 31. It would be easy, at the present period, to conjecture on the probable consequences of those schemes, had they been adopted. Their presumed success might be heightened by the ultimate failure of the measures which government pursued, and the accomplishment of the warnings then given to administration by the minority. Many of their prophecies were, indeed, fulfilled; the colonies persevered in their resistance; foreign powers took a part in their favour; and the mother country, after a long and expensive struggle, was obliged to relinquish her claims of sovereignty: but the avowals of the opposition may have had some tendency to produce those events which they predicted, and to encourage the Americans to persevere in the contest; whilst their representations of the exhausted state of Great Britain may have operated as a temptation to her old enemies to join against her, though such a step was obviously repugnant to their real interest and sound policy. If France and Spain had not acted in opposition to this principle, it would certainly have been deemed more than unlikely that any hostile feeling should induce powers, possessing colonies of their own, to foment the spirit of revolt in those of another nation.

A bill for the establishment of a militia in Scotland, had been brought in before the holidays, by Lord Mountstuart; but from the neglect of attendance which prevailed for some time, and from his lordship's desire of having the subject discussed in full Houses, it hung over during the greater part of the session. The grounds on which he defended the measure were very plausible. A militia, he said, was the great constitutional bulwark of the

kingdom ; and no good reason could be assigned for excluding any part of the island from contributing to the general security : yet the people of England were trained to the use of arms, while Scotland was left weak and defenceless : the retaining of such an invidious distinction served only to keep alive ancient jealousies, and to nourish odious prejudices and malignities. The greatest objection to the plan was, that five-sixths of the expense must be paid by English land owners, as the militia were directly maintained out of the land tax, of which Scotland paid a very inconsiderable proportion. The advocates for the bill replied, that the land tax was no fair criterion of what Scotland really contributed towards the common support ; for her consumption of English manufactures, and of foreign commodities which paid duties here, was very considerable, and one half of the produce of the lands of that country was said to be expended in this. Though the opposition was aimed, throughout, at its entire rejection, frequent amendments were proposed, and new clauses offered, in every stage of its progress : the divisions ran very close ; and, upon the day appointed for receiving the report from the committee after the second reading, March the 20th, it was thrown out by a majority of 112 to 95, the minister who voted for the bill, being, on this occasion, left in a minority.

In the midst of so many concerns of the utmost national importance, no small part of the time and attention of the House of Lords was taken up by the trial of the Duchess of Kingston for bigamy. This lady, whose maiden name was Chudleigh, had in 1744 been privately married to a Mr. Hervey, then a lieutenant in the navy, but who afterwards succeeded to the title of Earl of Bristol. Her conduct not being calculated to secure the continuance

of that affection which her personal charms had inspired, Mr. Hervey made proposals for a divorce ; and she obtained a sentence declaring her free from all matrimonial engagements.

In 1769 she accepted the Duke of Kingston's hand ; but on his death, in 1773, Lady Meadows, his sister and heir at law, filed a bill in chancery against her, when she pleaded the sentence of the ecclesiastical court, the validity of which was allowed by the lord-chancellor, though another bill was soon after instituted, to prove that it had been obtained by collusion. A criminal prosecution was also commenced ; and a bill of indictment for a second marriage, during the life of her first husband, having been found against her, the matter was removed to the House of Lords. The settlement of the time, place, and forms to be observed at the trial, gave rise to a variety of debates, in which Lord Mansfield argued that the ecclesiastical sentence would be exhibited in her defence, and perhaps put a stop to the trial : but admitting that not to be the case, there was an express statute which would not permit peers to suffer corporal punishment for any thing under a capital crime : and he did not think that a trial, which, even on conviction, could not be productive of serious or important consequences, ought to be carried on with any particular and expensive solemnity. The majority concurred in sentiment, that the offence, though clergyable, being of the most atrocious nature, the trial ought to be conducted in the most public manner, and that it would be no small degree of punishment to the lady, if convicted, to be asked, whether she had ever before been admitted to her clergy, and on her answering in the negative, to be told that the just infliction of *burning in the hand* was now remitted on account of her rank, but that if she should ever again be guilty of a clergy-

able offence, she would be liable to suffer, as a common felon, the pains and penalties of death. After many delays, the order for the trial, which occupied several days, was finally fixed for the 15th of April. The most indisputable proofs appeared of the lady's guilt, and of the very improper means by which she had obtained the sentence of the ecclesiastical court to give a seeming sanction to her crimes ; and, on being informed by the high steward, that the lords had pronounced her guilty, she claimed her privilege of peerage, which, after some opposition, was allowed.

This trial was the chief cause of suspending an inquiry to which Lord Effingham had called the attention of the Upper House on the 27th of March. It related to an abuse of a clause in the prohibitory act, which enabled the admiralty to grant licenses to vessels for conveying stores and provisions to the forces upon the American service. Some artful adventurers, availing themselves of the loose terms in which those licenses were at first worded, had shipped off a quantity of prohibited goods for the American market, and a violent clamour was raised in the city on this occasion : it was represented as extremely grievous to the great body of American merchants, who were sinking under the encumbrance of goods which they had purchased for America, and for which they could find no other market. As almost every subject of either public or private complaint was now made a party affair, the whole blame was thrown upon the connivance of government ; and the Earl of Effingham, a little before the recess at Easter, made a motion which was agreed to, that lists of such vessels, with their cargoes, as had been cleared out of the port of London for America, and of such licenses as had been granted, should be laid before the House. In the House of Commons Mr. Sawbridge, then lord

mayor of London, moved, on the 2d of May, for a committee to inquire into the transaction, which Lord North did not oppose, though the abuses complained of were already corrected, and a stop put to the mischief. The 8th of May was appointed for a committee of the whole House to take the matter into consideration, when several witnesses were examined, and it appeared that the licenses complained of had been granted indiscriminately to all who applied for them, and as indiscriminately called in when it was discovered that an improper use had been made of them. Out of nine ships, for which the licenses had been obtained, only three had sailed, and one of these was an hospital ship : the cargoes of the other six were re-landed ; the quantity of goods fraudulently exported could not therefore, be considerable. On the fullest investigation, after sitting on the inquiry till five o'clock in the morning, the House dismissed the matter as nugatory and ill-founded ; nevertheless, just on the eve of the rising of Parliament, Lord Effingham revived it in the Upper House, by moving for the necessary papers, in order to prosecute the inquiry in the ensuing session, with which ministers complied, to prevent an opinion from prevailing without doors, that they had any wish to stifle inquiry.

The other business of this active session, was of no material importance. A great variety of proposals with regard to America received very slender support : Mr. Sawbridge made his annual motion respecting the duration of parliaments ; and Wilkes, besides his usual attempt to reverse the decision on the Middlesex election, brought forward a plan of parliamentary reform, which were, of course, negatived. The public business being completed, the King went to the House of Lords, on the 23d of May, to give his assent to a few bills prepared for that purpose, and to close the session.

Among the bills then presented to his Majesty were one to alter the mode of punishment of felons, sentenced to transportation, to hard labour in England, and a new insolvent act, the most remarkable condition in which was, that all future acquisition of real property, or money in the funds, which should be made by any of the debtors who availed themselves of this act, were subjected to the claims of their several creditors: but, as they were to surrender all their present property, on oath, their persons, and such personal effects as they might afterwards acquire, were to be for ever free from all demands on account of debts contracted before the 22d of the preceding January. After passing the bills, his Majesty said, that the assurances he had received of the disposition of the several powers in Europe, promised a continuance of the general tranquillity; he expressed concern and regret, at having found it necessary to ask extraordinary supplies, and said that we were engaged in a great national cause, the prosecution of which must inevitably be attended with difficulties and expense: but considering that the essential rights and interests of the whole empire are deeply concerned in the issue, and no safety or security could be found but in the constitutional subordination contended for, no price could be too high for the preservation of such objects. He still entertained hopes that his rebellious subjects might be awakened to a sense of their errors, and by a voluntary return to their duty, justify him in bringing about the favourite wish of his heart, the restoration of harmony and re-establishment of order and happiness in every part of his dominions.

The plan of the ensuing campaign in America was divided into three parts. The object of the first was the removal of the troops from Boston to New York, where they were to be joined by con-

siderable reinforcements from England, to make a grand effort in the middle colonies; the second enterprise was directed to the southward, and the third expedition was to be undertaken in Canada. As the force destined for each of these purposes was deemed fully adequate to its execution, they were entered upon with the prospect of speedily terminating the war, though the event did not correspond with this expectation.

Washington and Lee joined the besieging army before Boston soon after the battle of Bunker's Hill, but nothing of consequence was attempted during the remainder of the year; the garrison were, however, kept in a state of perpetual alarm, and suffered considerably, during so long a blockade, from hard duty, confinement, and scarcity of provisions, a great proportion of the supplies sent from England having been intercepted by American cruisers. In consequence of General Gage's departure for Europe, the chief command of the British forces devolved on General Howe, who thought he might continue in Boston till the spring, in perfect safety from any new endeavours of the enemy, but soon experienced a mortifying disappointment. General Washington, apprehensive that the garrison might be strengthened by fresh succours in the spring, and foreseeing that his own army would be wanted elsewhere to oppose impending dangers, began to prosecute the siege with redoubled vigour about the end of February, in hopes of becoming master of the place before the arrival of reinforcements from the mother country. The renewal of his attempts was very much forwarded by the capture of an ordnance ship from Woolwich, which unfortunately separated from her convoy, and being herself of no force, was taken without defence by a small privateer. This vessel contained, besides a large mortar upon a new construction,

several pieces of fine brass cannon, a vast quantity of small arms and ammunition, with tools, utensils, and machines for camps and artillery in the greatest abundance, the whole being an invaluable acquisition to the besiegers. On the 2d of March a battery was opened at a place called Phipp's Farm, westward of the town, whence it was dreadfully annoyed by a furious discharge of cannon and bombs ; and on the morning of the 5th, another was opened from the heights of Dorchester Point on the opposite side, where two redoubts had been erected in the course of the preceding night. The situation of the army was now very critical ; as the new works, along with others which it was evident would be speedily thrown up on some of the neighbouring hills, would command the town, a considerable part of the harbour, and of the beach, whence an embarkation must take place in case of a retreat, and render the communication between the troops on Boston Neck and the main body, both difficult and dangerous. In these circumstances no alternative remained but to evacuate the town, or to dislodge the provincials, and the latter design was immediately adopted : a violent storm followed by a deluge of rain, delayed the perilous trial, in the first instance ; and next day it was discovered, upon a nearer inspection, that more works had been constructed, still stronger than any of the former, and that the whole were now so completely fortified, that all hope of forcing them was at an end. It was in fact impossible to approach them ; for in order to do so, the English must have ascended an almost perpendicular eminence, on the top of which the Americans had prepared hogsheads, chained together in great numbers, and filled with stones, to roll down upon the assailants, which must have destroyed all order, broken their ranks, and swept away whole columns at once. Nothing, therefore,

remained but to abandon the town, and to convey the troops, artillery, and stores, on board the ships that lay in the harbour. This measure required several days to carry it into execution, on account of the numbers to be removed, many of whom were sick and wounded; it was, however, effected on the 17th of March, when the garrison, with above 1500 of the inhabitants, who were attached to the British cause, embarked for Halifax in Nova Scotia, to which they had a favourable passage. In the hurry of their departure they left behind them a large quantity of provisions, artillery, and stores: the barracks were uninjured; and the retreat from the capital of Massachusetts Bay was highly disadvantageous to the British arms. The fortifications at Castle William were, however, blown up, as they would have rendered all future attempts upon the town, by sea, impracticable: some ships of war were also stationed off the harbour, to warn and protect any vessels that should arrive from England; but they were too few to be perfectly successful; and several store-ships and transports, one of which was laden with 1500 barrels of powder, besides carbines, bayonets, travelling carriages for heavy cannon, and all sorts of tools, fell into the hands of the Americans, to whom these acquisitions were invaluable. As soon as General Washington perceived that the town was evacuated, he marched in with all the triumph of victory, and detached several regiments, under the command of General Lee, to the defence of New York, imagining that the British troops might have departed for that place; but the circumstances of the latter did not immediately admit of their undertaking any expedition.

During these transactions at Boston, Arnold remained posted with the remnant of his army on the heights of Abraham, about three miles from

Quebec, whence he could intercept any supplies that might be attempted to be conveyed into the city, and where he hoped to increase his number by succours from the congress, and by ingratiating himself with the Canadians; but the succours were retarded by the almost insupportable hardships of a long march, in a rigorous season, and through a savage country; and with regard to the Canadians, their affections were entirely alienated from the invaders, not only by their misfortunes, but their misbehaviour also. As the season approached, in which supplies and reinforcements for the garrison were sure to arrive from England, the Americans resolved to make a further effort before they should be obliged entirely to abandon the enterprise. They renewed the siege, raised some batteries, and made several attempts, by fire-ships and otherwise, to burn the vessels in the harbour. The project failed, though very boldly conducted; and their troops were at one time drawn up, and scaling ladders, with every other preparation, were in readiness for storming the town, during the distraction which they hoped the fire-ships and batteries would have produced. They even penetrated into the suburbs, where they burned several houses, and compelled the garrison to pull down the rest, in order to prevent the flames from spreading: but the judgment and vigilance of General Carleton baffled all their designs; and the small pox, that scourge and terror of the western continent, broke out among them, making its usual ravages. The dread of the infection, which is considered as the American plague, and regarded with all the horror incident to that name, rendering it impossible to keep up any discipline, or to prevent the most alarming desertions, a retreat was resolved upon; but even this could only be effected with the utmost precipitation and loss, on account of the sudden

appearance of part of the English squadron, consisting of the *Isis* man of war, and two frigates, which had made their way through the ice, and arrived unexpectedly before Quebec. General Carleton lost no time in seizing the advantages which the present situation afforded; a detachment of soldiers and marines being landed from the shipping, and joined to the garrison, he marched out at their head, on the 6th of May. The Americans, having already begun a retreat, fled on all sides, on the appearance of the British troops, abandoning their artillery, military stores, and every other article of encumbrance. Some of the light-armed English ships having at the same time got up the river, captured several small vessels, and retook the *Gaspee* sloop of war, which had been seized in the beginning of the winter. Thus was the siege or blockade of Quebec raised, after a continuance of about five months; and from this time the Americans experienced nothing but defeats, till they were driven out of that province. The governor showed himself worthy of success, by an act which does great honour to his humanity. As a number of the sick and wounded provincials were concealed in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greatest danger of perishing under the complicated pressure of want, fear, and disease, he issued a proclamation, commanding the proper officers to find out these unhappy persons, and to afford them all necessary relief at the public expense; assuring them, that as soon as they were recovered, they should have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.

The remainder of the expected reinforcements, consisting of several regiments from Ireland, one from England, another from General Howe, together with the Brunswick troops, having successively arrived in Canada before the end of May,

the most vigorous measures were immediately adopted, and, for the greater celerity of operation, the British general divided his forces into different detachments, appointing the general rendezvous at Trois Rivières, half way between Quebec and Montreal, about ninety miles from each. Before any of the larger bodies were put in motion, an expedition was undertaken by Captain Forster, at the head of a small party of regulars and some Indians, against a place called the Cedars, about thirty miles to the westward of Montreal, on the river St. Lawrence. This fort, though naturally strong, and defended by 400 provincials, did not long resist Captain Forster's attack. A heavy fire of musketry having been continued for a few hours, the garrison surrendered on condition of having their lives preserved from the usual ferocity of the Indians. A detachment of the latter had also taken prisoners another party of provincials, who were marching from Montreal to the relief of the Cedars, and whose lives were spared through the interposition of Captain Forster. This brave officer advanced next day to Vaudreuil, about six miles north of the Cedars, whence Arnold, at the head of 700 men, made an attempt to dislodge him, but was obliged to return to St. Ann's, on the island of Montreal. Captain Forster not having yet received any intelligence of General Carleton's arrival at Trois Rivières, and finding himself much encumbered by the number of his prisoners, judged it expedient to release them in consequence of an agreement, signed by Arnold, to return an equal number of the King's troops of the same rank within the space of two months, and to send four captains to Quebec as hostages for the performance of the articles. This cartel was afterwards broken by congress, who alleged that Captain Forster had conducted himself towards the prisoners taken at the Cedars

in a cruel and inhuman manner. That this dishonourable pretence to palliate a flagrant breach of faith was totally unfounded, is proved on the testimony of Captain Sullivan, one of the hostages, who says that no man living could have used more humanity than Captain Forster did, after the surrender of the party to which he belonged.

In the mean time the British and Brunswick forces were advancing with all practicable dispatch. A considerable body, under Brigadier-general Frazer, had already taken their station at Trois Rivières; another, under Brigadier-general Nesbit, lay near them on board some transports; and a third, more numerous than either, under Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and the German commander Reidesel, were on the way from Quebec. At this juncture, the Americans, who had retreated as far as the river Sorrel, about fifty miles from Trois Rivières, and had there been joined by some succours, formed a scheme for the surprise of the troops under General Frazer. Major-general Thompson, who conducted this enterprise, embarked at Sorrel with 2000 men, and coasting along the south side of what is called the Lake of St. Peter, arrived at Nicolet, whence they fell down the river by night, and passed to the other side, with the hope of being able to make a sudden attack before day-break; but General Frazer, having received intelligence of their approach, immediately prepared to receive them, and General Nesbit, at the same time, posted his detachment in their rear. After a furious, but ineffectual onset, their only resource was flight. Nesbit's corps kept the river side to prevent their escape to their boats, while Frazer's, in pursuit, galled them severely, and they were driven for some miles through a deep swamp, which they traversed with inconceivable toil, and in constant danger. The British troops at

length grew tired of the pursuit, and the woods afforded the exhausted enemy a wished-for shelter. About 200 men, with the first and second in command, were taken prisoners.

This was the last appearance of vigour shown by the provincials in Canada. General Carleton having arrived next day, June the 9th, at Trois Rivières, the whole army pushed forward, by land and water, with great expedition. When the fleet arrived at Sorrel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place a few hours before, having dismantled the batteries, and carried off their artillery and stores. A strong column was here landed under General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorrel to St. John's, while the remainder of the forces sailed up the river to Longueuil, where they discovered that the city and island of Montreal had been abandoned on the preceding evening. The army was immediately landed on the continent, and marching by La Prairie, crossed the peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorrel, in order to join General Burgoyne at St. John's, where they expected a strong resistance; but that general, having pursued his march without intermission, and arrived at St. John's on the evening of the 18th, found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing destroyed that could not be carried off. The provincials acted in the same manner at Chamblée, and burned such vessels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they directly embarked for Crown Point.

The British commanders, having thus freed Canada from its invaders, were desirous of proceeding to the southward, and for this purpose determined to equip such a fleet as would enable them to traverse Lake Champlain with safety. This was a work of time and labour; but, by great exertion, in

about three months they acquired a naval force far superior to that of the Americans, thirty vessels, all carrying cannon, being constructed in that time, a few of the largest of which were first framed and sent over from Great Britain. It is remarkable that the two fleets were commanded by land officers, Carleton and Arnold being equally ambitious to support on a new element the reputation they had acquired by their military skill and conduct. Early on the 11th of October, the British armament, proceeding up the lake, discovered the enemy's fleet, drawn up with great judgment, in a line extending from the island of Valicourt to the western main, and a warm action ensued; but the British ships of greatest force being prevented, by the unfavourableness of the wind, from advancing near enough to take a part in the engagement, Arnold availed himself of the darkness of night to get away undiscovered. Being eagerly pursued all the next day, he was overtaken on the 13th within a few leagues of Crown Point, and the action was renewed with great fury for two hours. Arnold had lost one of his largest ships and a gondola in the first engagement; and though only two gallies and five gondolas remained, the rest having deserted him, and escaped to Ticonderoga, he made a most desperate resistance till, finding it impossible to withstand the force to which he was opposed, he ordered his vessels to be run on shore, in such a manner as to land their men in safety, and then to be blown up, remaining himself on board his galley till she was enveloped in flame, lest the British should strike his flag, which he kept flying to the last moment. Crown Point was immediately abandoned by the Americans, and all their force concentrated at Ticonderoga; which being judged too strongly defended to be attacked at this advanced season, General Carleton put his troops into winter

cantonments in Canada, and General Burgoyne returned to England.

Whilst the rigours of winter alone retarded the progress of the British arms in the north, a total failure attended the expedition to the southward. It has been already mentioned, that Lord William Campbell and Mr. Martin, the governors of the two Carolinas, had found it necessary to take shelter on board the King's ships lying off the coast, not, however, without hopes of seeing their respective provinces soon reduced to obedience. They knew that a strong squadron of men of war, with a large body of land forces, was to be sent out early to the southern colonies, and that General Clinton, with a small detachment, had left Boston in December, to meet them at Cape Fear. Mr. Martin, in particular, omitted no scheme which the most active zeal and ingenuity could suggest for securing a number of adherents in the interior parts of the country, to co-operate with the British forces. He had, by means of emissaries, formed a junction between some Scotch emigrants, and a band of resolute unruly men called *Regulators*, who had long lived in a sort of savage independence, deriving their chief sustenance from the chase; but it being necessary to embody all the scattered parties of the loyalists in the month of January, as the only chance of keeping them steady in their intentions, and the force which was to countenance and support them not arriving in time, they were surrounded, before the end of February, by large parties of the provincial troops and militia; most of their leaders, and several of their bravest men, were killed or taken prisoners; and the rest were totally dispersed. The British squadron did not arrive for above two months after, owing to a singular circumstance. The vessels had been sent round to Cork in the beginning of the winter, to take on board the troops

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about three months they acquired a naval force far superior to that of the Americans, thirty vessels, all carrying cannon, being constructed in that time, a few of the largest of which were first framed and sent over from Great Britain. It is remarkable that the two fleets were commanded by land officers, Carleton and Arnold being equally ambitious to support on a new element the reputation they had acquired by their military skill and conduct. Early on the 11th of October, the British armament, proceeding up the lake, discovered the enemy's fleet, drawn up with great judgment, in a line extending from the island of Valicourt to the western main, and a warm action ensued ; but the British ships of greatest force being prevented, by the unfavourableness of the wind, from advancing near enough to take a part in the engagement, Arnold availed himself of the darkness of night to get away undiscovered. Being eagerly pursued all the next day, he was overtaken on the 13th within a few leagues of Crown Point, and the action was renewed with great fury for two hours. Arnold had lost one of his largest ships and a gondola in the first engagement ; and though only two gallies and five gondolas remained, the rest having deserted him, and escaped to Ticonderoga, he made a most desperate resistance till, finding it impossible to withstand the force to which he was opposed, he ordered his vessels to be run on shore, in such a manner as to land their men in safety, and then to be blown up, remaining himself on board his galley till she was enveloped in flame, lest the British should strike his flag, which he kept flying to the last moment. Crown Point was immediately abandoned by the Americans, and all their force concentrated at Ticonderoga ; which being judged too strongly defended to be attacked at this advanced season, General Carleton put his troops into winter

cantonments in Canada, and General Burgoyne returned to England.

Whilst the rigours of winter alone retarded the progress of the British arms in the north, a total failure attended the expedition to the southward. It has been already mentioned, that Lord William Campbell and Mr. Martin, the governors of the two Carolinas, had found it necessary to take shelter on board the King's ships lying off the coast, not, however, without hopes of seeing their respective provinces soon reduced to obedience. They knew that a strong squadron of men of war, with a large body of land forces, was to be sent out early to the southern colonies, and that General Clinton, with a small detachment, had left Boston in December, to meet them at Cape Fear. Mr. Martin, in particular, omitted no scheme which the most active zeal and ingenuity could suggest for securing a number of adherents in the interior parts of the country, to co-operate with the British forces. He had, by means of emissaries, formed a junction between some Scotch emigrants, and a band of resolute unruly men called *Regulators*, who had long lived in a sort of savage independence, deriving their chief sustenance from the chase; but it being necessary to embody all the scattered parties of the loyalists in the month of January, as the only chance of keeping them steady in their intentions, and the force which was to countenance and support them not arriving in time, they were surrounded, before the end of February, by large parties of the provincial troops and militia; most of their leaders, and several of their bravest men, were killed or taken prisoners; and the rest were totally dispersed. The British squadron did not arrive for above two months after, owing to a singular circumstance. The vessels had been sent round to Cork in the beginning of the winter, to take on board the troops

and provisions ; but the lord lieutenant of Ireland forming a very unseasonable scruple about the propriety of permitting the forces to embark without leave of the legislature, so much time was lost, that the fleet did not sail till the 12th of February. Sir Peter Parker went out as commodore, and the land forces were under the orders of Lord Cornwallis. After a tedious voyage, occasioned by the lateness of their departure, all the fleet, except a few ships, reached Cape Fear in North Carolina on the 3d of May. General Clinton, who was waiting for them with the utmost anxiety, immediately took the command of the troops, and issued a proclamation inviting the inhabitants of the several colonies to return to their allegiance, and to place themselves under the protection of the British government ; but the force and spirits of the loyalists were so entirely broken by their late misfortune, that no public avowal of their sentiments nor any farther efforts could be reasonably expected from them, unless they saw the royal standard erected in the heart of the country.

General Clinton's orders were to try if any of the southern provinces would take up arms in favour of Great Britain ; in which case he was to have left a body of troops to assist the well-affected, and to proceed with the remainder of his forces to New York, to join General Howe. The late arrival of the fleet from Ireland precluded any slow experiments on the temper of the people ; but General Clinton resolved to try the event of an attack on Charlestown, the capture of which would compensate for other disappointments. The whole fleet accordingly set sail on the last day of May, and came to anchor off the bar on the 4th of June. They found the city in a strong posture of defence ; works had been thrown up on Sullivan's Island, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, in a situation

commanding the channel of Charlestown harbour : the militia of the province were collected in great numbers for the defence of the metropolis : and Lee, who had carefully watched all Clinton's motions since his departure from Boston, was now encamped with a considerable body of forces on the continent, holding communication with Sullivan's Island by a bridge of boats. The British troops disembarked on Long Island, where they constructed two batteries of cannon and mortars to answer those of the enemy, and to co-operate with the floating batteries destined to cover their passage over a small creek that separated the two islands. The arrangements between the commanders by sea and land being completed, the Thunder bomb, covered by the Friendship armed ship, took her station on the morning of the 28th of June, and commenced the attack by throwing shells at the fort as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock, the Bristol, which was the commodore's ship, and the Experiment, both of fifty guns, with the Active and Solebay frigates, brought up directly against the fort, and began a furious cannonade, which was returned with equal fury and with more effect. The Sphynx, Actæon, and Syren frigates were ordered to take their station between the end of the island and Charlestown, but through the unskilfulness of the pilot, they were entangled in some shoals, where all three stuck, and though two of them were, after some time, with damage and difficulty got off, it was then too late, and they were besides in no condition to execute the intended service ; the Actæon could not be got off, and was burnt by her crew. The failure of this part of the plan in some measure decided the fate of the day ; for between one and two o'clock, the fire from the fort slackened for want of ammunition, but was renewed on receiving a fresh supply from Lee's camp, and con-

tinued without intermission till night. The Bristol and Experiment, being most pointed at, appeared like wrecks upon the water; the springs of the former ship's cables being cut by the shot, she lay exposed in such a manner to the enemy's fire, as to be terribly raked. It is said that her quarter deck was at one time cleared of every person but the commodore, who stood alone, a spectacle of intrepidity and firmness, the others being all either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dressed. The heroic valour of Captain Morris corresponded well with that of his commodore. Although severely wounded, he disdained to quit his duty, until his arm being at length shot off, he was carried away without a hope of recovery. Above a hundred of the crew were killed or wounded: nor was the loss much less on board the Experiment. During this dreadful and obstinate conflict, the seamen anxiously expected to see the land forces advance from Long Island, but it had been found impracticable, the creek in the rear of the fort, though in general fordable, being at this time, through a long continuance of easterly winds, deep and dangerous. Sir Henry Clinton and several other officers waded up to their shoulders, and exerted every other effort of co-operation, but to very little purpose. The causes of the seeming inactivity of the army being at that time unknown to the brave combatants on board the fleet, they could not help feeling much disappointment, though it did not slacken their astonishing exertions. At length Sir Peter Parker, perceiving that all possibility of success was at an end, withdrew his shattered vessels, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, from an engagement which had been supported with extraordinary courage and vigour for above ten hours. On the 21st of July the army sailed for New York, under convoy of the Sole-

bay frigate, the rest of the fleet being under the necessity of delaying a little longer to refit.

On the expedition against New York, far surpassing the others in magnitude and importance, the greatest expectation of success was founded. The islands, which constitute so large a part of the province, were exposed on all sides to the easy descent of troops, and to the direct attacks of a naval armament. The central situation of the province made it also a desirable inlet to the surrounding colonies. The war could be carried on with equal facility either in Connecticut and the continent of New York on the eastern side, or in New Jersey and from thence to Pennsylvania on the western, so as to leave it in the power of the British commander to prescribe the scene of action, and to quit it when he liked in perfect security. To crown these and other local advantages, Long Island, which is very fertile in all kinds of corn, and abounded with herds and flocks, was deemed almost equal in itself to the maintenance of an army. These circumstances would have probably tempted General Howe to make a descent on that island after he left Boston, instead of pursuing his voyage to Halifax, had his troops been fit for immediate action. After a long stay of above two months, growing impatient as the summer advanced, and being probably urged by the scarcity of provisions, he left Halifax the 11th of June, and, on the 29th, reached Sandy Hook, near New York, where he was met by Major-general Tryon, the late governor, who gave him a full account of the state and disposition of the province, as well as of the strength of the enemy. Finding all the approachable parts of New York and Long Islands in a powerful state of defence, he proceeded to Staten Island, which being of less value and consequence was less attended to, and where he landed without opposition on the 3d of July. The suc-

cours from England, and the armament which was to co-operate with him, did not arrive for a week after. The naval force was under the command of his brother Lord Howe, who had also been appointed joint commissioner with the general, under the late act of Parliament, for restoring peace to America. It was thought that conciliating proposals would derive some increase of popularity from being conveyed through the medium of two officers, whose gallant brother had, in the former war, gloriously fallen at Ticonderoga, in defence of the colonies ; but every day now diminished the chance of reconciliation.

On the 15th of May, the congress had taken an opportunity of feeling the general pulse of the people, and of preparing them for the declaration of independency which was to follow, by a kind of circular manifesto, to the several colonies, stating the causes which, in their opinion, rendered it necessary that all authority under the crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government taken respectively into their own hands. Pennsylvania and Maryland alone seemed averse to the proposal ; the question being debated with great warmth in the provincial assembly of the former, and then referred to their constituents, by whom, however, it was decided in favour of the recommendations of congress. In Maryland the delegates were instructed by a large majority of the assembly to oppose the declaration of independency, which they accordingly did, and having given their votes, withdrew. A body of the people soon obliged them to return, and the assembly were also compelled to ratify the important resolution. Every obstacle being thus surmounted, the congress, assuming a new title, and styling themselves the representatives of the *United States of America*, published on the 4th of July a solemn act, de-

claring those states to be *free and independent*; absolving them from all allegiance to the British crown, and renouncing all political connexion with the mother country. A supplement to the Declaration of Independency was published by the congress on the 4th of October following, under the title of Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the thirteen specified states, laying down an invariable system of rules or laws for their government in all public cases with respect to each other in peace or war, and also extending to their commerce with foreign nations. These articles received, as soon as the necessary forms would permit, the separate ratification of each colony.

Lord Howe was very much chagrined to find that this step had been taken before his arrival, as it threw a new and almost insurmountable obstacle in the way of any treaty. His lordship, however, resolved to make such efforts as yet remained, to bring about an accommodation. His first act was to send ashore, by a flag, on the 14th of July, a circular letter to the several late governors of the colonies, acquainting them with his civil and military powers, and desiring that they would publish, as generally as possible, for the information of the people, a declaration which accompanied the letter, wherein he fully explained the nature of his commission, and of the authority with which his brother and he were invested, under the late act of Parliament. The letter and declaration appeared in all the newspapers by the order of congress, with a preface or comment calculated to counteract the effect of both. Dr. Franklin, who had resided for some years in England as agent for the colonies of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, being now a leading member of the congress, Lord Howe addressed a letter to him also, touching upon the above mentioned points; expressing a hope and a wish to find

in America the same disposition for peace that he brought with him ; and concluding with requesting the doctor's aid to accomplish this desired end. The doctor, in reply, informed his lordship, that, preparatory to any propositions of amity or peace, it would be required that Great Britain should acknowledge the independence of America, defray the expenses of the war, and indemnify the colonies for burning their towns. This, however, he stated to be only his private opinion, and not authorized by those to whom the Americans had intrusted the power of peace or war. A correspondence was opened at the same time with General Washington, but to as little purpose. Lord Howe and his brother, unwilling to accede to such preliminaries as Dr. Franklin pointed out, and seeing, from the declaration of independence, and the vigorous preparations of the enemy, that nothing less would be accepted, resolved to commence hostilities without farther delay.

The troops under General Clinton from the southward, and some regiments from Florida and the West Indies, having joined the grand army, which now amounted to near 30,000 men, the operations began on the 22d of August. A detachment of 4000 men was first embarked, and having landed without resistance on the south western extremity of Long Island, they were soon followed by the rest of the army and artillery. On the opposite side, near the village of Brooklyn, within view of New York, a large body of Americans, to the number of 15,000, were strongly posted, under the command of General Sullivan, assisted by General Putnam and some other able officers. His lines extended on the left to the East River, which separated him from New York ; he was secured, on the right, by a marsh reaching to an inlet of the sea called Gowan's Cove ; and he had Governor's Island and a bay to the rear

of his encampment. Between the armies was a range of hills covered with wood, intersecting the country from east to west : through these hills were three passes ; one to the westward, called the Narrows ; a second nearly in the centre, taking its name from the village of Flatbush ; and the third bending to the east towards the town of Bedford, on which side there was a road leading round the extremity of the hills to a plantation called Jamaica. These defiles were guarded by numerous parties ; and the heights behind them were occupied by about two thirds of the whole body of forces, who had been detached from the camp to obstruct the progress of the British army. General Howe, having formed his plan, stationed General Grant at the head of the left wing to guard the coast, and to attempt a passage through the Narrows : General De Heister, with the Hessians, was ordered to the central post at Flatbush : and it being deemed practicable, from the report of General Clinton and Sir William Erskine, who had reconnoitred the position of the enemy, to turn their left, the commander in chief resolved to make the attempt himself with the right wing, consisting of a strong advanced corps under General Clinton, supported by the brigades under Lord Percy. This division setting off about nine in the evening of the 26th, and crossing the country by Flatlands, made themselves masters of the eastern pass without any alarm being communicated to the Americans, having intercepted their patrol. At nine o'clock in the morning the British troops reached Bedford, and an attack was immediately begun on the enemy's left ; they made but a feeble resistance, and retired from the woody grounds to their lines in evident confusion. As soon as the firing from this quarter was heard, General De Heister, with a column of Hessians, poured upon their centre,

and forced them to take shelter in the woods, with the loss of three pieces of cannon. General Grant's column, which had driven the advanced guard of the enemy from a strong pass, began a very furious cannonade upon them early in the morning, in order to divert their attention from their left wing and rear, where all the danger lay. They returned the fire with great spirit till they received news of the total rout of the rest of their army, when they fled in the utmost disorder : a few small parties took to the woods : but the greater number attempted to make their escape through the marsh at Gowan's Cove, where many were drowned, and some perished more miserably in the mud. Their loss, which was very considerable, would probably have been much greater, had the conquering troops been permitted, in the ardour of victory, to storm the American lines. Near 2000 of them were killed or drowned ; and about half that number, including three of their generals, Sullivan, Stirling, and Udell, with ten other field officers, were made prisoners. The British and Hessian troops had about 70 killed, and between 2 and 300 wounded. During the engagement General Washington passed over from New York, and effected a retreat in the night of the 29th with such silence, secrecy, and order, that the English army did not perceive the least motion, and were surprised in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the enemy's rear guard in their boats and out of danger. The only advantage which General Howe derived from his first day's victory, and his subsequent caution, was the inglorious acquisition of the deserted works of Brooklyn.

Soon after this event, General Sullivan was sent upon parole, with a verbal message from Lord Howe, to the congress at Philadelphia, importing, that, though he could not at present treat with them

in a legal character, he was desirous of conferring with some of the members as private gentlemen. He said, that he had, in conjunction with the general, full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America on terms advantageous to both; the obtaining of which had detained him near two months, and prevented his arrival before the declaration of independency had taken place: that he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say they were compelled to enter into the agreement: that if the congress were disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked might and ought to be granted to them: and that if, upon the conference, any probable ground of accommodation appeared, the authority of congress must of course be afterwards acknowledged, in order to render the compact complete. The congress returned for answer, that being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, they could not with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorized by congress, and what that authority was, and to hear such propositions as he should think fit to make. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge being accordingly appointed, waited upon Lord Howe at Staten Island, who told them, that every act of Parliament which had been thought obnoxious to the colonies should undergo a revisal, and every just cause of complaint should be removed, if they would declare their willingness to submit to the British government. The committee replied, that an acknowledgment of the superiority of Great Britain could not now be expected;

adding, that, even if the congress wished to replace America in her former situation, they had not the power to do so ; for the declaration of independency had been made in consequence of the collected voice of the whole people, by whom alone it could be invalidated and abolished. Here the conference terminated, and the deputies, on their return to congress, reported that Lord Howe's commission appeared to contain no other authority of importance than was comprised in the act of Parliament. His lordship, on his part, published a declaration to the people of America, assuring them, that the parent state was ready to receive into its bosom and protection all who might be willing to return to their former obedience ; but this declaration had no great effect.

No hope remaining of accommodation, the English commanders resolved to act with vigour. The royal army, being divided only by the East river, about 1300 yards in breadth, from the island of New York, where the provincial forces had taken refuge, were impatient to pass that narrow boundary. After a long and severe cannonade from batteries which had been erected on some small islands between the opposite shores, and from several ships of war judiciously stationed to cover the disembarkation of the troops, a descent was made, on the 15th of September, at Kipp's Bay, within three miles of the town of New York. The army of General Washington being posted, part in the environs of the city, and part at Kingsbridge, on the isthmus which connects the peninsula with the continent, apprehensions were entertained that the English general, by landing a body of forces in the centre, would cut off the communication between them ; on which a resolution was taken to evacuate the city ; and on the actual landing of the British troops at Kipp's Bay, the Americans re-

treated with precipitation and some loss to Kingsbridge, where they had strong intrenchments. When the British forces had been six days in New York, an alarming fire broke out which consumed about 1000 houses, being nearly a third part of the town; and but for the great exertions of the sailors and troops, the whole city must have shared the same fate. After much time being spent in erecting a chain of redoubts to cover New York, some brigades of British and Hessian troops were left to defend it, and the rest of the army embarked on the 12th of October, in flat-bottomed boats, proceeding the same morning to land near West Chester, on the continent towards Connecticut, with a view to gain the rear of General Washington's encampment, and thereby force him either to hazard a battle, or suffer himself to be surrounded and confined in York Island. The American commander, alarmed by the remonstrances of General Lee, who had lately returned from South Carolina, perceived the necessity of making a grand movement to counteract this project, and immediately decamping with his whole army, took a new and strong position at White Plains, the deep river Brunx covering his front, and the North river flowing at some distance in the rear.

On the 28th of October the royal army advanced, in two columns, within cannon shot of the American lines, and a part of the left wing crossing the river, drove back, with loss, an advanced post of the American encampment, commanded by General Macdougall. Next day General Howe, observing the lines much strengthened by additional works, resolved to defer the assault till the arrival of some troops he had left on York Island, when he made new dispositions for storming the American intrenchment on the last day of October, which was prevented by incessant rains; and in the night of the 1st of

November, Washington drew off his troops, and took a still stronger position amidst the woods and highlands bordering on the North Castle district. General Howe, perceiving that the nature of the country would not admit of forcing the American commander to an engagement, made a sudden movement towards Kingsbridge, and unexpectedly invested fort Washington, a strong post on the North river, opposite to which was fort Lee on the Jersey side. Colonel Magaw, the commander of the fortress, refusing to surrender to General Howe's summons on the 15th of November, it was carried sword in hand by a furious assault the next morning. The loss of the royal army in killed and wounded amounted to about 800 ; that of the garrison to near 1200, besides more than 2000 who were made prisoners. On this acquisition, Lord Cornwallis was detached with a strong body of forces to form the investment of fort Lee, but found it already abandoned by the garrison, who retired with precipitation, leaving their artillery, provisions, and stores. General Washington, who had passed the North river to protect the province of Jersey, was compelled to retreat with a diminished force to Newark, whence he fell back, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, to Brunswick, and thence, on the 1st of December, to Prince-town, having first broken down the bridge erected there over the Rariton. As the orders of his lordship were positive not to advance beyond Brunswick, he here sent dispatches to the commander in chief, expressing sanguine hopes, that by a continued pursuit he could entirely disperse the army under General Washington, and seize his heavy baggage and artillery before he could pass the Delaware, but General Howe only replied that he would join his lordship immediately; almost a week, however, elapsed before this junction took place. On the 7th of December the

British army marched from Brunswick in the morning, and arrived in the afternoon at Prince-town, which place General Washington, with Stirling's brigade, had left scarcely an hour. Trenton on the Delaware, where the Americans were to embark for Pennsylvania, was but twelve miles distant, yet the British troops were detained for seventeen hours at Prince-town, and arrived at Trenton just when the last boat of Washington's embarkation crossed the river.

During this retreat of the main army, General Lee, at the head of a considerable body of troops, had followed the track of Lord Cornwallis, but at too great a distance to be of any service to the commander in chief. It seemed as if his proud spirit would have been gratified by the total defeat of Washington, whom he would probably have succeeded, but a most mortifying event awaited him. On the 13th of December, while his army lay encamped in Morris County, intending to cross the Delaware to the northward of Trenton, he proceeded with a few attendants to the distance of two or three miles in order to reconnoitre, and stopped at a place called Baskingridge to breakfast. Colonel Harcourt, who had been sent out with a party of light horse to watch Lee's motions, receiving intelligence of his situation, instantly formed a plan for capturing this able officer, styled by the British army the *American Palladium*. Having made the proper dispositions to prevent Lee's escape, Harcourt galloped up to the house where the general was at breakfast, surprised the centinels placed to guard it, forced open the door, and made him a prisoner, as well as a French lieutenant-colonel who had accompanied him. The general was immediately mounted, and conveyed in safety to the British camp, though several guarded posts and armed patrols lay in the way. The making of a single

officer prisoner would, in other circumstances, have been a matter of no very great moment ; but, in the present state of the American forces, where a deficiency of military skill prevailed, the loss of a commander, whose spirit of enterprise was directed by great knowledge of his profession, acquired in actual service, was of the utmost importance, particularly as there was little room to hope that it could be soon supplied. Washington, not having at this time any prisoner of equal rank with Lee, proposed to exchange six field officers for him ; or if this was not accepted, he required that General Lee should be treated suitably to his station, until an opportunity offered for a direct and equal exchange. General Howe did not then think that Lee ought to be considered as a prisoner of war, but rather as a deserter from the service of Great Britain, though he had resigned his commission as a British officer on the commencement of the troubles ; he was therefore closely confined ; which afforded the Americans a pretext for treating several of their prisoners with an unusual degree of rigour.

While the royal army was overrunning the greater part of the Jerseys without opposition, General Clinton, with two brigades of British and two of Hessian troops, and a squadron of ships of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attempt upon Rhode Island. This enterprise succeeded even beyond expectation ; for the Americans abandoned the island at their approach, and they took possession of it without the loss of a man, on the day that General Washington made his escape across the Delaware. In consequence also of their sudden arrival and success, an American squadron of five frigates, under Commodore Hopkins, was under the necessity of retiring up the river Providence, where it remained inactive. Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances

attending the expedition, it has been censured as injudicious, the possession of Rhode Island having kept a great body of troops there unemployed for three years after.

The affairs of the colonies seemed now rapidly verging to a crisis. The army under General Washington, which, at the opening of the campaign, amounted to near 30,000 men, was reduced to a tenth part of that number, whole regiments, which had been enlisted only for a twelvemonth, having retired from the service, alleging that it was incumbent on their countrymen to bear an equal share in the support of the common cause. The panic, struck by the disasters at Long Island, New York, and the White Plains, with the progress of the royal army through the Jerseys, extended itself from the military to the civil departments of the new states. The governor, council, assembly, and magistracy of New Jersey, deserted that province. The congress fled with great precipitation to Baltimore, in Maryland; and some of the members sought pardon and security at the British headquarters. Repeated attempts were unsuccessfully made to raise the militia of Pennsylvania, and Washington contemplated a retreat to the recesses of the Allegany mountains, expecting to have been followed by the British forces, for though all the boats on the Delaware were, by a timely precaution, removed to the Pennsylvanian shore, the neighbourhood supplied materials which might have been converted into rafts and flotillas sufficient for the transportation of the troops; but General Howe determined to wait till they should be able to pass over on the ice, and in the mean time ordered them into cantonments, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick to the Delaware, and down the banks of that river for many miles, so as to compose a front at the end of the line looking over to Penn-

sylvania. Washington, on being fully informed of this disposition, exclaimed, in the spirit of a vigilant and sagacious commander, "now is the time to clip the wings of the enemy, while they are so spread."

Very early in the morning of the 26th of December, a day purposely selected on the supposition that the preceding festivity might favour the project of surprise, General Washington crossed the Delaware, not without extreme difficulty, as the river had begun to be frozen; and directly proceeding on his march in the midst of a storm of snow and hail, reached Trenton by day-break, where about 1600 men, chiefly Hessians, were stationed under the command of Colonel Rahl. Being thrown into confusion at the first attack, and the colonel mortally wounded, they abandoned their artillery, and attempted to make their retreat to Prince-town: but finding this impracticable, and being nearly surrounded, the three regiments of Rahl, Lossberg, and Knyphausen, laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; the remainder narrowly escaping by way of Bordentown. In the evening General Washington repassed the Delaware, carrying with him the prisoners, their artillery, and colours, and entered the city of Philadelphia in triumph. Nothing could have been more critically favourable to the republican cause, or more injurious to the reputation as well as to the future progress of the royal army, than this enterprise. The charm was now dissolved; and it being found by experience, that the Hessians in particular, who had been hitherto beheld with a sort of terror, were not invincible, great numbers again repaired to the American standard, and it soon appeared that this single stroke of success operated more powerfully on the great body of the people than all the other inducements held out to them to enlist, such as large bounties, the future acquisition of landed property, and the promise of

foreign assistance. General Washington soon found himself in a condition once more to cross the Delaware ; and Lord Cornwallis, who was then at New York, on his way to England, was ordered to return to the defence of the Jerseys. His lordship, finding the troops in that quarter collected at Prince-town under General Grant, marched at their head, the second day of the new year, to attack the enemy, who were strongly posted at the back of Trenton Creek. After several skirmishes in the approach, a cannonade ensued on both sides, which continued till dark. Lord Cornwallis determined to renew the attempt next morning ; but General Washington, who was far from intending to risk a battle, silently withdrew his army in the dead of the night, leaving fires burning in his camp and the usual patrols to keep up appearances, and by a circuitous march arrived just before sun-rise at Prince-town, where the fourth brigade of British troops were posted under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, who had begun his march in order to join Lord Cornwallis, when he fell in with the vanguard of the American army. Though engaged with a far superior force, the brave Mawhood at the head of his own corps, with extraordinary gallantry fought his way through the thickest ranks of the enemy ; the other regiments making separate retreats by different roads ; they suffered, however, very severely in this unequal conflict, and were in a great measure disabled for future service.

As soon as Lord Cornwallis discovered Washington's manœuvre, being alarmed for the safety of the troops and magazines at Brunswick, he proceeded instantly to its defence. The Americans crossed the Millstone river without any farther attempt at that time ; but in a few days after, whilst Lord Cornwallis remained at Brunswick for the necessary refreshment of his harassed troops, Washington

overran both East and West Jersey, spreading his army over the Rariton, and penetrating into Essex county, where he made himself master of the coast opposite to Staten Island, by seizing Newark, Elizabeth-town, and Woodbridge. He fixed his headquarters at Morris-town, a place situated amongst hills extremely difficult of access, with a fine country in his rear, whence he could draw supplies, and through which he could at any time secure an easy passage over the Delaware. Lord Cornwallis's troops were, on the contrary, very much straightened at Brunswick and Amboy, the only posts which they retained of all their late acquisitions in the Jerseys. Both places had fortunately an open communication by sea with New York, neither forage nor provisions being obtainable, in any part of the adjoining country, but at the point of the sword. The licentious ravages of the German soldiery, during the time they were in possession of the province, had excited the utmost resentment of the inhabitants; and on the fortune of war seeming to turn against them, the whole country rose in arms, many who had before been well affected to the royal cause, as well as the neutrals and the wavering, now becoming its determined enemies.

Though the great distance of the seat of war would certainly render its effects less interesting, it is difficult to account for the little emotion which American events excited in England. The hopes of those who approved of vigorous measures were kept alive, but not fully gratified, by the chequered occurrences of the campaign: they were therefore cautious of indulging, upon any show of temporary or partial success, in a triumph which might be found premature. Their political adversaries had stronger reasons for being silent, and the usual bickerings of party were almost swallowed up in the uncertain issue of the remote contest. These

remarks must, however, be considered as applicable only to the great body of society, zealots on both sides being equally violent in their approbation and their censure ; those who were benefited by the war, magnifying every instance of success ; whilst the losses it occasioned, and the ruin with which it was pregnant, were the constant themes of immediate sufferers. The planters in the West India islands and the merchants at home had experienced great distress since the commencement of the troubles, several of the necessaries of life, particularly the articles of sustenance used for the support of the negroes, as well as of the poor and laborious whites, having risen to four times their customary price, in consequence of the usual supplies being withheld. Staves, which in the next degree to food were an object of the greatest necessity, were not to be procured in a sufficient quantity at any price ; but the dread of famine absorbed all lighter considerations. In addition to these calamities, a conspiracy of the negroes in Jamaica, though happily discovered in good time, and easily crushed in the bud, proved in its consequences extremely injurious. As the military force in Jamaica had been weakened by draughts for the American service, and the departure of a large fleet of merchantmen, with a part of the squadron on that station for their convoy, would render the island still more naked and defenceless, the negroes fixed upon that time for carrying their design into execution. The fleet, which was to have sailed in July, was detained, on account of the discovery of the plot, a month longer ; and this delay, besides being attended with expense to the owners, was productive of much greater misfortune. The Americans thereby gained time to equip their privateers ; and bad weather separating the fleet, many merchant ships of considerable value fell into their hands. The loss

sustained in the West India trade this year was estimated at more than 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

Strong symptoms of reviving enmity on the part of France and Spain appeared about this time, notwithstanding the most amicable professions. Their harbours in Europe began to swarm with American privateers, and English prizes were openly sold there; but after some remonstrances on this head, the public disposal of them was checked, though the practice still continued in secret. Considerable armaments were fitting out under the pretence of a dispute with Portugal, which might very probably be designed to co-operate with America, and it was judged necessary to be prepared for the event of a rupture. Accordingly, about the middle of October, sixteen additional ships of the line were put into commission; and the most effectual methods were taken for speedily manning them, by the offer of liberal bounties, and the more disagreeable expedient of pressing. Proclamations were also issued, commanding all British seamen, who were employed in any foreign service, to return to England; and laying an embargo on the exportation of provisions from Great Britain and Ireland.

Both Houses of Parliament met on the last day of October. They were assured, in the speech from the throne, that nothing could have afforded his Majesty so much satisfaction as to have been able to inform them that the troubles in North America were at an end, and that the unhappy people there had returned to their duty; but so daring and desperate was the spirit of their leaders, that they had openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with the mother country; they had rejected the means of conciliation held out to them; they had presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states; and if their treason were suffered to take root, much mis-

chief must grow from it to the safety of the loyal colonies, to the commerce of Great Britain, and to the general system of Europe: one great advantage would, however, be derived from the open avowal of their intentions, and that was unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of the measures to be pursued: the recovery of Canada, and the successes on the side of New York, afforded strong hopes of the most decisive good consequences; but notwithstanding this fair prospect, it was necessary to prepare for another campaign: assurances of amity were still received from other courts, and it seemed likely that Europe would continue to enjoy the inestimable blessings of peace; it was, however, expedient to be in a respectable state of defence. The speech proceeded to remark that no people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those revolted provinces: that their improvements in every art declared it: and that their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they thought sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother country, were irrefragable proofs of it.

Addresses in answer to this speech were moved in the usual form, and produced very long debates. An amendment was proposed by Lord John Cavendish in the Lower, and the Marquis of Rockingham in the Upper House, describing at full length, and severely reprobating, what were termed the errors and misconduct of the ministry, which had occasioned the entire alienation, and at length the open revolt, of so large a part of his Majesty's once loyal and affectionate subjects. This amendment was rejected in the House of Commons by a majority of 242 against 87. In the House of Lords, the Marquis of Rockingham's motion was negatived by 91 to 26; but the proposed amendment was entered

at full length in the journals, as a protest, and signed by 14 of the minority.

In a few days after the addresses were presented, there appeared, in the public prints, a copy of a declaration from Lord Howe and his brother, which had been issued in America soon after the taking of New York, addressed to the people at large of that continent, and acquainting them with his Majesty's having been graciously pleased to direct a revision of such of his royal instructions as might be construed to lay an improper restraint upon the freedom of legislation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the revisal of all acts by which his subjects there might think themselves aggrieved. This paper was brought before the House by Lord John Cavendish, who affected to consider it was a forgery: but its authenticity being acknowledged by the minister, his lordship expressed in the strongest terms his astonishment at both the contents of the declaration, and the extraordinary manner in which it came to the knowledge of Parliament, who in the whole conduct of the business had been treated merely as cyphers by the minister, and who were now at length informed, through the medium of a common newspaper only, that they stood engaged to America to undertake a revision of those laws by which the Americans had conceived themselves to be aggrieved: notwithstanding the resentment he felt as a member of the House at this ministerial insolence of conduct, his lordship said, that a dawn of joy broke in upon his mind at the bare mention of reconciliation, and that if ministers were serious, he should not stand upon mere punctilios; in order, therefore, to give them all possible weight and assistance towards carrying such a design into effect, and to secure that necessary degree of confidence which the sanction of Parliament could alone give to any treaty that might now be set on foot, he

moved, "that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the revisal of all acts of Parliament, by which his Majesty's subjects thought themselves aggrieved." Burke, Fox, and Dunning, were the principal speakers in support of the motion, which was made in a thin House, when no business of consequence was expected. Ministers, on the other hand, alleged that the paper in question was not of sufficient moment to be laid before Parliament, being no treaty, nor part of a treaty; but barely a preliminary, which might eventually lead to one. The motion for a committee was strenuously opposed, and after a long and violent debate was negatived by a majority of 109 against 47: from this time, a great number of the minority, chiefly of the Rockingham party, began to relax in their attendance upon Parliament, or rather to withdraw themselves wholly and avowedly upon all questions which related to America, and only to assist in the dispatch of private business. Their example, however, was not followed by several other members of the opposition, who thought that a partial secession was inconsistent with their parliamentary duty, though they admitted that collectively it had not only the sanction of precedent, but might be practised with great advantage in cases of imminent danger to the constitution, and this disunion increased still further the strength of the ministry.

On the motion and grant of 45,000 seamen, in the committee of supply, Mr. Temple Luttrell animadverted severely on the conduct of Lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, whom he charged with an imposition both on Parliament and the public, tending to lull the nation at this critical season into a fatal security, by a false account of the state of the navy, and moved that sundry returns should be laid before the House, which after much asperity of de-

bate was rejected without a division. The naval supplies voted for the ensuing year amounted to 3,205,505*l.* exclusive of 4000*l.* towards the support and relief of worn-out seamen not provided for in Greenwich hospital, and 1,000,000*l.* granted at the close of the session for the discharge of the navy debt. The supplies for the land service fell little short of 3,000,000*l.* The extraordinaries for the last year, amounting to 1,200,000*l.* with some new contracts for German forces, and the expenses of half-pay and Chelsea, were not included in the gross sum. These necessary parts of the public business being dispatched, and the land and malt-tax bills having received the royal assent, both Houses adjourned on the 13th of December, which was appointed for a general fast, to the 21st of January following.

The only changes in any office of consequence, which occurred during the present year, were in the department for the education of the Prince of Wales and Bishop of Osnaburgh, and in the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. The former places had been vacated about the end of May, the Earl of Holderness, governor, the Bishop of Chester, preceptor, Mr. Smelt, sub-governor, and the Rev. Mr. Jackson, sub-preceptor, having all resigned their respective employment, owing, it was said, to some disagreement between the governor and preceptor. Lord Bruce was first induced to accept the governorship, with a promise of being created Earl of Aylesbury: but the office not suiting his temper or inclination, he gave it up in a few days, when his brother, the Duke of Montague, was appointed governor; Dr. Hurd, then Bishop of Litchfield, preceptor; Colonel Hotham, sub-governor; and the Rev. Mr. Arnold, sub-preceptor. Lord Bruce obtained his earldom, and was called to the privy council: and towards the close of the year, upon the death of Dr. Drum-

mond, the Bishop of Chester was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of York. In Ireland a considerable promotion took place in the peerage about the beginning of July ; and the Earl of Buckinghamshire was appointed lord lieutenant of that kingdom in the room of Lord Harcourt on the 22d of November.

We cannot omit, in the history of this eventful year, some account of an invention which attracted considerable notice. Mr. D. Hartley, member of Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull, with whose plans for settling the disputes between the mother country and her colonies our readers are acquainted, devoted a considerable portion of his time and fortune to a discovery for checking the destructive violence of fire in dwelling-houses ; and wishing to make it beneficial to himself as well as advantageous to mankind, he took great pains to retain the sole property in it, and, of course, the sole management of it, for some unusual length of time. He built a house, three stories high, with two large rooms on a floor on Wimbledon Common, and tried six experiments upon it, for the satisfaction of the public in general, and those great bodies in particular, including his Majesty, whose approbation was requisite for his obtaining an extension of the term to which royal patents are limited ; and which was granted to him on the 3d of March, 1777. In the last of those exhibitions Mr. Hartley ordered a fire to be made on the deal flooring of one of the ground rooms. Then a large faggot of shavings, suspended by iron to the upper part of the same room, was set on fire. Thirdly, the staircase was set on fire both above and below, without the fire extending, in any instance, beyond the spot on which it was lighted. Lastly, the other room on the ground floor, filled almost to the top with faggots, pitch, and other combustibles, was set fire to ; but though they all

burned with such fury as to emit a perpetual torrent of flame and smoke, and thereby rendered all approach within thirty yards of the windows, on the outside, absolutely impracticable, the room adjoining to, and that immediately over, this little *Ætna*, continued as cool and as accessible as if no fire had been in the house. Mr. Hartley and some of his friends remained in these very rooms a great part of the time, during which the fire burned with the greatest violence in the other. Nor was it walls, and floors, and ceilings alone, which were thus enabled to mock the rage of the otherwise all devouring element: fixtures and even furniture were rendered proof against it; a bed, in particular, being purposely set on fire, had little more of it consumed than what the fire was immediately applied to. Astonishing as the effects of this contrivance must appear, the means perhaps may be thought equally so. It is only nailing the thinnest plates of iron to the joints; and those plates may be plain, or painted of any colour. “How,” says the writer on whose testimony as an eye-witness the chief circumstances of this last experiment are related, “would such an happy event have rejoiced the good heart of the great Berkley, who, in his equally sensible, ingenious, and benevolent queries, looked upon our houses, considering their materials, as so many fire-ships; and our towns and villages, as so many fleets and squadrons of such ships met together for the laudable purpose of mutual destruction!”

While one man was so successfully exerting all the powers of his mind and resources of his fortune in experiments to secure life and property from the dreadful ravages of fire, another was employed in horrid contrivances to destroy, as it were, in a general conflagration, the dock-yards and most flourishing cities in the kingdom. A fire which had broken out in the rope-house at Portsmouth,

on the 7th of December, was then ascribed to accident; but, about six weeks after, the discovery of a machine in the hemp-house, designed for the same purpose, led, eventually, to the conviction of James Aitken, commonly known by the appellation of John the painter, having been bred to that trade. He was born at Edinburgh, but being of a roving spirit, and strongly addicted to vice, had passed, in a few years, through a course of profligacy, and in 1773 rambled to America, where he continued about two years. Being of a melancholy solitary nature, little is known of his pursuits during that period, but he appears to have returned with a violent antipathy to the government and nation, and soon after formed a scheme for setting fire to the royal dock-yards, and burning the principal trading cities and towns. In the autumn of 1776, he went to France, and communicated his intentions to Mr. Silas Deane, the American plenipotentiary to that court, who told him, according to his own story, that when the work was done, he should be rewarded. Whatever truth there may be in his having received this encouragement, he set about his project with the utmost eagerness; but his ignorance in the preparation of combustibles prevented the full execution of his plan, some of them, after being deposited and lighted, having failed in their effect. He, however, destroyed the rope-house at Portsmouth, and still pursuing his design, narrowly escaped being taken at Plymouth. His next attempt was to burn the shipping that lay alongside the quay at Bristol; but failing in this, he set fire to some warehouses in the vicinity, six or seven of which were consumed. Soon after his departure from Bristol, he was taken up in Hampshire for a burglary; and circumstances appearing to confirm the suspicion of his being at least an accomplice in the fire at Portsmouth, he was removed to London.

On his examinations he refused to answer any question which admitted even of a doubt, in the remotest tendency, that the reply could be wrested to his crimination ; yet, with all his caution, another painter, named Baldwin, who had also spent some time in America, found means to obtain his confidence in prison, and to draw from him the history of his crimes. He was convicted, chiefly on the evidence of this man, after a good defence, in which he dwelt on the acknowledged baseness of the witness ; and received sentence of death with indifference. He was removed from Winchester gaol on the 10th of March, and executed on a gallows sixty feet high before Portsmouth dock-gate. Before he was turned off, he sent for one of the officers belonging to the yard, to whom he acknowledged his crime, and also gave some cautions, with respect to the future preservation of the royal docks from similar dangers.

CHAPTER XII.

Bills for granting Letters of Marque, and for securing persons charged with Treason—Discussion, in a Committee of Supply, on Loan Contracts and German claims—Application for discharging the debts on the Civil List—Increase of the royal revenue—Debate on the Speaker's address to the King—Ways and Means—Extraordinary transactions in India—Lord Chatham's renewed attempt at conciliation with America—Close of the session—Expeditions to Peek's Hill and Danbury—The Americans attack Saggy harbour—Lord Cornwallis defeats a detachment of Washington's army—General Prescott taken and exchanged for General Lee—The British fleet and army sail for Chesapeak Bay—Battle of Brandywine—General Wayne surprised by General Grey—Entrance of Philadelphia—Action at German-town—Forts on the Delaware taken—General Burgoyne takes the command in Canada—Is joined by the Indians, who shortly secede—Various military operations, ending in his surrender at Saratoga—Meetings of Parliament—Debate on the King's speech—Supply—Habeas Corpus suspension—State of the nation—Motions respecting Burgoyne's expedition—Adjournment—Subscriptions for raising new Levies—Debates after the recess—Lord North's plan of conciliation—Ways and Means—Treaty between France and America—Motions in favour of Irish Commerce—Bill to relieve Roman Catholics—Duke of Richmond's motion for abandoning hostilities against America—Lord Chatham's reply—His Death—Honours paid to his memory—General Burgoyne's reception—Motions on the state of the navy, and to restrain members from contract-

ing with government—Prorogation—Provision for the King's Children—Lord Thurlow appointed Chancellor.

Soon after the Christmas recess, which expired on the 21st of January, 1777, a bill was passed, enabling the admiralty to authorize private merchant-ships to make prizes of all vessels belonging to the thirteen revolted colonies; and on the 6th of February Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with or suspected of the crime of high treason, committed in America or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy. He prefaced the motion by observing, that the law, as it stood at present, did not authorize government to apprehend the most suspected person; nor could the crown confine rebel prisoners or pirates in any other place than the common gaols: to remedy these inconveniences, and to empower his Majesty to confine such persons in the same manner as other prisoners of war, until criminal proceedings could be instituted against them, were, his lordship said, the purposes of his bill. It was brought in, and read on the ensuing day, and on the question being put for the second reading, Mr. Dunning, in order, as he alleged, to obtain time for the nation to consider whether they would surrender the foundation and corner-stone of all the rights which they possessed, moved to have the bill printed; in which the minister could not well avoid acquiescing. In every subsequent stage of its progress, it was strongly opposed; no reason, it was said, existed for investing the crown with a power so dangerous, and of such extent, as to bring every subject of the British empire who frequented the seas within its perilous vortex; the minister disclaimed all design of extending the operation of the bill beyond its

open and avowed objects, and readily agreed to some amendments, the object of one of which was to define the crime of piracy, by declaring that nothing should be deemed so but acts of felony committed on the ships or goods of the subject on the high seas : the other, which was of greater importance, was proposed by Mr. Dunning ; and provided that nothing contained therein should be construed to extend to the case of any other prisoners, than such as have been out of the realm, at the time of the offence wherewith they should be charged or suspected. The bill was carried on the third reading, by 112 to 35.

Several accounts of the extraordinary unprovided services of the war having been laid before the committee of supply, it was moved, and carried without a division, that the sum of 970,000*l.* part of the million granted by the last vote of credit, and the farther sum of 1,200,000*l.* should be granted for the discharge of those services ; but the manner of stating the accounts, and the charges in various articles of the expenditure, were strongly objected to. Lord North assured the House that great economy had been observed, and that the best possible terms had in every instance been obtained ; he denied that any preference had been given to members of the House of Commons in contracts, which were always entered into with those who seemed the most able, and who were the best calculated to fulfil their obligations ; but he, at the same time, maintained, that there was nothing in the situation of a gentleman's holding a seat in that House, which should exclude him from the advantages he might otherwise derive as a man of business, either from his engagements with the public, or with individuals. Among the items was one for 44,000*l.* charged as issued to a Colonel Fawcitt, which startled the committee for a moment ; till Lord North informed

them, that the sum had been applied to satisfy a fair and reasonable, though unexpected demand, made by the Landgrave of Hesse for levy-money. But his lordship found it much more difficult, about two months after, to reconcile the House to another claim of above 40,000*l.* set up by the same prince, for the expenses of foreign hospitals in the last war. It was objected to the payment of this sum, that a commission had been appointed and carried into effect upon the late peace, for the sole purpose of examining, settling, and liquidating the German claims, which were found to be so shamefully exorbitant, that a discount of sixty or seventy per cent. was not unusual, even on those which seemed to be the best supported; and that it would be highly disgraceful not only in administration, but in parliament, to submit in every instance to the insatiate rapacity of the German princes. On the other hand, the minister acknowledged the *staleness* of the claim; but as the account was clearly and fairly established, he insisted that length of time did not weaken its justice or validity, and the resolution was carried by a majority of 38 to 20. On receiving the report next day, the debate was renewed with great warmth; and it was agreed to only by a majority of eight.

On the 9th of April, a few days before the discussion of this foreign claim, a message was delivered from the throne, in which much uneasiness was expressed by the King at being obliged to acquaint the House with the difficulties he laboured under, from debts incurred by the expenses of the household and of the civil government, which amounted, on the 5th of January, to upwards of 600,000*l.* The message was attended with a number of papers, containing various accounts of the expenditure, and a comparative statement of the whole amount of the civil list establishment from

the year 1760, with that of the produce of the former revenues which had been appropriated to the like purpose during the same period; the former being intended to explain the causes of the excess in the expenditure, and the latter to show that the crown had been a loser by the bargain which it then made with Parliament. On the 16th of the same month, the day appointed for referring the message to the consideration of the committee of supply, Lord John Cavendish moved, that the order of reference be discharged, which, after a full debate, was rejected by a majority of 281 to 114; and the House, being then resolved into a committee of supply, passed two resolutions to the following purport; *viz.* “that the sum of 618,340*l.* should be granted to enable his Majesty to discharge the debts on the civil list; and that the sum of 100,000*l.* per annum over and above the sum of 800,000*l.* be granted, as a farther provision for the better support of his Majesty’s household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown.” A debate of some warmth ensued; but the motion was carried without difficulty, in both Houses. The Speaker of the House of Commons, on presenting the bill a few days afterwards, for the royal assent, addressed his Majesty in the following terms:—“In a time, Sire, of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burdens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful Commons, postponing all other business, have not only granted to your Majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue, great beyond example, great beyond your Majesty’s highest expense; but all this, Sire, they have done in the well grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally.” The King was little pleased with this unexpected liberty. On the return of the Speaker,

the thanks of the House were immediately voted him ; but, in a subsequent debate, Mr. Rigby, the paymaster of the forces, arraigned his conduct, as conveying little less than an insult on the King, and as equally misrepresenting the sense of Parliament and the state of the nation. The Speaker appealed to the vote of thanks which had been passed, as a proof that he had not been guilty of the misrepresentation imputed to him ; and the minister expressed a wish that the subject might not be farther discussed. Mr. Fox declared, that a serious and direct charge having been brought, the question was now at issue. Either the Speaker had misrepresented the sense of the House, or he had not. He should, therefore, in order to bring this question to a proper and final decision, move, “ that the Speaker of the House, in his speech to his Majesty at the bar of the House of Peers, did express, with just and proper energy, the sentiments of this House.” The Speaker himself declared, that he would sit no longer in that chair than he was supported in the free exercise of his duty. He had discharged what he conceived to be his duty, intending only to express the sense of the House ; and from the vote of approbation with which he had been honoured, he had reason to believe he was not chargeable with any misrepresentation. Ministers, in pressing terms, now recommended the withdrawing of the motion ; but this was positively refused, and Mr. Rigby moved an adjournment. As the House, however, appeared sensible of the degradation which its dignity must sustain from any affront offered to the chair, Mr. Rigby in some degree conceded, professing, that he meant no reflection upon the character of the Speaker, but that what he had said was the mere expression of his private opinion, and the result of that freedom of speech which was the right and privilege of every member of that House,

without respect of persons; and that, if what he had advanced was not agreeable to the sense of the House, he would readily withdraw his motion of adjournment. Mr. Fox's motion was then unanimously carried, and the thanks of the House were voted to the Speaker for his conduct in this affair.

In addition to what has been already observed of the principal grants voted in the committee of supply, it may be proper to give a summary of Lord North's statements at the opening of the budget on the 14th of May. The sum total of the supplies which were deemed necessary for the public service was nearly 13,000,000*l.*: the ordinary revenue, or ways and means for raising these supplies, such as the land tax, the malt duty, the produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, &c. scarcely amounted to seven millions and a half, which left a deficiency of five millions and a half: the five millions were to be funded at an annuity of four per cent. and the remaining half million was to be raised by a lottery: the interest of the new loan, which, with a premium of one half per cent. for ten years, to encourage subscribers, amounted to 225,000*l.*, was to be paid by a tax of one guinea each on all male servants not employed in agriculture or trade; by a duty on auctioneers, and on goods sold by auction; by additional stamp duties; and by additional duties on glass. These taxes being considered to hit the due medium, being mere luxuries and necessaries, were agreed to without a division; and, a few days after, a vote of credit for another million, chargeable on the next aids, was passed, to enable his Majesty to defray any extra expenses that might be incurred on account of military service, and to make good the charges of calling in the deficient gold coin.

A most extraordinary transaction in the East Indies, which amounted to no less than the total subversion of established government in one of the

sylvania. Washington, on being fully informed of this disposition, exclaimed, in the spirit of a vigilant and sagacious commander, "now is the time to clip the wings of the enemy, while they are so spread."

Very early in the morning of the 26th of December, a day purposely selected on the supposition that the preceding festivity might favour the project of surprise, General Washington crossed the Delaware, not without extreme difficulty, as the river had begun to be frozen ; and directly proceeding on his march in the midst of a storm of snow and hail, reached Trenton by day-break, where about 1600 men, chiefly Hessians, were stationed under the command of Colonel Rahl. Being thrown into confusion at the first attack, and the colonel mortally wounded, they abandoned their artillery, and attempted to make their retreat to Prince-town : but finding this impracticable, and being nearly surrounded, the three regiments of Rahl, Lossberg, and Knyphausen, laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war ; the remainder narrowly escaping by way of Bordentown. In the evening General Washington repassed the Delaware, carrying with him the prisoners, their artillery, and colours, and entered the city of Philadelphia in triumph. Nothing could have been more critically favourable to the republican cause, or more injurious to the reputation as well as to the future progress of the royal army, than this enterprise. The charm was now dissolved ; and it being found by experience, that the Hessians in particular, who had been hitherto beheld with a sort of terror, were not invincible, great numbers again repaired to the American standard, and it soon appeared that this single stroke of success operated more powerfully on the great body of the people than all the other inducements held out to them to enlist, such as large bounties, the future acquisition of landed property, and the promise of

foreign assistance. General Washington soon found himself in a condition once more to cross the Delaware ; and Lord Cornwallis, who was then at New York, on his way to England, was ordered to return to the defence of the Jerseys. His lordship, finding the troops in that quarter collected at Prince-town under General Grant, marched at their head, the second day of the new year, to attack the enemy, who were strongly posted at the back of Trenton Creek. After several skirmishes in the approach, a cannonade ensued on both sides, which continued till dark. Lord Cornwallis determined to renew the attempt next morning ; but General Washington, who was far from intending to risk a battle, silently withdrew his army in the dead of the night, leaving fires burning in his camp and the usual patrols to keep up appearances, and by a circuitous march arrived just before sun-rise at Prince-town, where the fourth brigade of British troops were posted under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, who had begun his march in order to join Lord Cornwallis, when he fell in with the vanguard of the American army. Though engaged with a far superior force, the brave Mawhood at the head of his own corps, with extraordinary gallantry fought his way through the thickest ranks of the enemy ; the other regiments making separate retreats by different roads ; they suffered, however, very severely in this unequal conflict, and were in a great measure disabled for future service.

As soon as Lord Cornwallis discovered Washington's manœuvre, being alarmed for the safety of the troops and magazines at Brunswick, he proceeded instantly to its defence. The Americans crossed the Millstone river without any farther attempt at that time ; but in a few days after, whilst Lord Cornwallis remained at Brunswick for the necessary refreshment of his harassed troops, Washington

overran both East and West Jersey, spreading his army over the Rariton, and penetrating into Essex county, where he made himself master of the coast opposite to Staten Island, by seizing Newark, Elizabeth-town, and Woodbridge. He fixed his head quarters at Morris-town, a place situated amongst hills extremely difficult of access, with a fine country in his rear, whence he could draw supplies, and through which he could at any time secure an easy passage over the Delaware. Lord Cornwallis's troops were, on the contrary, very much straightened at Brunswick and Amboy, the only posts which they retained of all their late acquisitions in the Jerseys. Both places had fortunately an open communication by sea with New York, neither forage nor provisions being obtainable, in any part of the adjoining country, but at the point of the sword. The licentious ravages of the German soldiery, during the time they were in possession of the province, had excited the utmost resentment of the inhabitants ; and on the fortune of war seeming to turn against them, the whole country rose in arms, many who had before been well affected to the royal cause, as well as the neutrals and the wavering, now becoming its determined enemies.

Though the great distance of the seat of war would certainly render its effects less interesting, it is difficult to account for the little emotion which American events excited in England. The hopes of those who approved of vigorous measures were kept alive, but not fully gratified, by the chequered occurrences of the campaign : they were therefore cautious of indulging, upon any show of temporary or partial success, in a triumph which might be found premature. Their political adversaries had stronger reasons for being silent, and the usual bickerings of party were almost swallowed up in the uncertain issue of the remote contest. These

remarks must, however, be considered as applicable only to the great body of society, zealots on both sides being equally violent in their approbation and their censure ; those who were benefited by the war, magnifying every instance of success ; whilst the losses it occasioned, and the ruin with which it was pregnant, were the constant themes of immediate sufferers. The planters in the West India islands and the merchants at home had experienced great distress since the commencement of the troubles, several of the necessaries of life, particularly the articles of sustenance used for the support of the negroes, as well as of the poor and laborious whites, having risen to four times their customary price, in consequence of the usual supplies being withheld. Staves, which in the next degree to food were an object of the greatest necessity, were not to be procured in a sufficient quantity at any price ; but the dread of famine absorbed all lighter considerations. In addition to these calamities, a conspiracy of the negroes in Jamaica, though happily discovered in good time, and easily crushed in the bud, proved in its consequences extremely injurious. As the military force in Jamaica had been weakened by draughts for the American service, and the departure of a large fleet of merchantmen, with a part of the squadron on that station for their convoy, would render the island still more naked and defenceless, the negroes fixed upon that time for carrying their design into execution. The fleet, which was to have sailed in July, was detained, on account of the discovery of the plot, a month longer ; and this delay, besides being attended with expense to the owners, was productive of much greater misfortune. The Americans thereby gained time to equip their privateers ; and bad weather separating the fleet, many merchant ships of considerable value fell into their hands. The loss

sustained in the West India trade this year was estimated at more than 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

Strong symptoms of reviving enmity on the part of France and Spain appeared about this time, notwithstanding the most amicable professions. Their harbours in Europe began to swarm with American privateers, and English prizes were openly sold there; but after some remonstrances on this head, the public disposal of them was checked, though the practice still continued in secret. Considerable armaments were fitting out under the pretence of a dispute with Portugal, which might very probably be designed to co-operate with America, and it was judged necessary to be prepared for the event of a rupture. Accordingly, about the middle of October, sixteen additional ships of the line were put into commission; and the most effectual methods were taken for speedily manning them, by the offer of liberal bounties, and the more disagreeable expedient of pressing. Proclamations were also issued, commanding all British seamen, who were employed in any foreign service, to return to England; and laying an embargo on the exportation of provisions from Great Britain and Ireland.

Both Houses of Parliament met on the last day of October. They were assured, in the speech from the throne, that nothing could have afforded his Majesty so much satisfaction as to have been able to inform them that the troubles in North America were at an end, and that the unhappy people there had returned to their duty; but so daring and desperate was the spirit of their leaders, that they had openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with the mother country; they had rejected the means of conciliation held out to them; they had presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states; and if their treason were suffered to take root, much mis-

chief must grow from it to the safety of the loyal colonies, to the commerce of Great Britain, and to the general system of Europe: one great advantage would, however, be derived from the open avowal of their intentions, and that was unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of the measures to be pursued: the recovery of Canada, and the successes on the side of New York, afforded strong hopes of the most decisive good consequences; but notwithstanding this fair prospect, it was necessary to prepare for another campaign: assurances of amity were still received from other courts, and it seemed likely that Europe would continue to enjoy the inestimable blessings of peace; it was, however, expedient to be in a respectable state of defence. The speech proceeded to remark that no people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those revolted provinces: that their improvements in every art declared it: and that their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they thought sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother country, were irrefragable proofs of it.

Addresses in answer to this speech were moved in the usual form, and produced very long debates. An amendment was proposed by Lord John Cavendish in the Lower, and the Marquis of Rockingham in the Upper House, describing at full length, and severely reprobating, what were termed the errors and misconduct of the ministry, which had occasioned the entire alienation, and at length the open revolt, of so large a part of his Majesty's once loyal and affectionate subjects. This amendment was rejected in the House of Commons by a majority of 242 against 87. In the House of Lords, the Marquis of Rockingham's motion was negatived by 91 to 26; but the proposed amendment was entered

at full length in the journals, as a protest, and signed by 14 of the minority.

In a few days after the addresses were presented, there appeared, in the public prints, a copy of a declaration from Lord Howe and his brother, which had been issued in America soon after the taking of New York, addressed to the people at large of that continent, and acquainting them with his Majesty's having been graciously pleased to direct a revision of such of his royal instructions as might be construed to lay an improper restraint upon the freedom of legislation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the revisal of all acts by which his subjects there might think themselves aggrieved. This paper was brought before the House by Lord John Cavendish, who affected to consider it was a forgery: but its authenticity being acknowledged by the minister, his lordship expressed in the strongest terms his astonishment at both the contents of the declaration, and the extraordinary manner in which it came to the knowledge of Parliament, who in the whole conduct of the business had been treated merely as cyphers by the minister, and who were now at length informed, through the medium of a common newspaper only, that they stood engaged to America to undertake a revision of those laws by which the Americans had conceived themselves to be aggrieved: notwithstanding the resentment he felt as a member of the House at this ministerial insolence of conduct, his lordship said, that a dawn of joy broke in upon his mind at the bare mention of reconciliation, and that if ministers were serious, he should not stand upon mere punctilios; in order, therefore, to give them all possible weight and assistance towards carrying such a design into effect, and to secure that necessary degree of confidence which the sanction of Parliament could alone give to any treaty that might now be set on foot, he

moved, "that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the revisal of all acts of Parliament, by which his Majesty's subjects thought themselves aggrieved." Burke, Fox, and Dunning, were the principal speakers in support of the motion, which was made in a thin House, when no business of consequence was expected. Ministers, on the other hand, alleged that the paper in question was not of sufficient moment to be laid before Parliament, being no treaty, nor part of a treaty; but barely a preliminary, which might eventually lead to one. The motion for a committee was strenuously opposed, and after a long and violent debate was negatived by a majority of 109 against 47: from this time, a great number of the minority, chiefly of the Rockingham party, began to relax in their attendance upon Parliament, or rather to withdraw themselves wholly and avowedly upon all questions which related to America, and only to assist in the dispatch of private business. Their example, however, was not followed by several other members of the opposition, who thought that a partial secession was inconsistent with their parliamentary duty, though they admitted that collectively it had not only the sanction of precedent, but might be practised with great advantage in cases of imminent danger to the constitution, and this disunion increased still further the strength of the ministry.

On the motion and grant of 45,000 seamen, in the committee of supply, Mr. Temple Luttrell animadverted severely on the conduct of Lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, whom he charged with an imposition both on Parliament and the public, tending to lull the nation at this critical season into a fatal security, by a false account of the state of the navy, and moved that sundry returns should be laid before the House, which after much asperity of de-

bate was rejected without a division. The naval supplies voted for the ensuing year amounted to 3,205,505*l.* exclusive of 4000*l.* towards the support and relief of worn-out seamen not provided for in Greenwich hospital, and 1,000,000*l.* granted at the close of the session for the discharge of the navy debt. The supplies for the land service fell little short of 3,000,000*l.* The extraordinaries for the last year, amounting to 1,200,000*l.* with some new contracts for German forces, and the expenses of half-pay and Chelsea, were not included in the gross sum. These necessary parts of the public business being dispatched, and the land and malt-tax bills having received the royal assent, both Houses adjourned on the 13th of December, which was appointed for a general fast, to the 21st of January following.

The only changes in any office of consequence, which occurred during the present year, were in the department for the education of the Prince of Wales and Bishop of Osnaburgh, and in the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. The former places had been vacated about the end of May, the Earl of Holderness, governor, the Bishop of Chester, preceptor, Mr. Smelt, sub-governor, and the Rev. Mr. Jackson, sub-preceptor, having all resigned their respective employment, owing, it was said, to some disagreement between the governor and preceptor. Lord Bruce was first induced to accept the governorship, with a promise of being created Earl of Aylesbury: but the office not suiting his temper or inclination, he gave it up in a few days, when his brother, the Duke of Montague, was appointed governor; Dr. Hurd, then Bishop of Litchfield, preceptor; Colonel Hotham, sub-governor; and the Rev. Mr. Arnold, sub-preceptor. Lord Bruce obtained his earldom, and was called to the privy council: and towards the close of the year, upon the death of Dr. Drum-

mond, the Bishop of Chester was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of York. In Ireland a considerable promotion took place in the peerage about the beginning of July ; and the Earl of Buckinghamshire was appointed lord lieutenant of that kingdom in the room of Lord Harcourt on the 22d of November.

We cannot omit, in the history of this eventful year, some account of an invention which attracted considerable notice. Mr. D. Hartley, member of Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull, with whose plans for settling the disputes between the mother country and her colonies our readers are acquainted, devoted a considerable portion of his time and fortune to a discovery for checking the destructive violence of fire in dwelling-houses ; and wishing to make it beneficial to himself as well as advantageous to mankind, he took great pains to retain the sole property in it, and, of course, the sole management of it, for some unusual length of time. He built a house, three stories high, with two large rooms on a floor on Wimbledon Common, and tried six experiments upon it, for the satisfaction of the public in general, and those great bodies in particular, including his Majesty, whose approbation was requisite for his obtaining an extension of the term to which royal patents are limited ; and which was granted to him on the 3d of March, 1777. In the last of those exhibitions Mr. Hartley ordered a fire to be made on the deal flooring of one of the ground rooms. Then a large faggot of shavings, suspended by iron to the upper part of the same room, was set on fire. Thirdly, the staircase was set on fire both above and below, without the fire extending, in any instance, beyond the spot on which it was lighted. Lastly, the other room on the ground floor, filled almost to the top with faggots, pitch, and other combustibles, was set fire to ; but though they all

burned with such fury as to emit a perpetual torrent of flame and smoke, and thereby rendered all approach within thirty yards of the windows, on the outside, absolutely impracticable, the room adjoining to, and that immediately over, this little *Ætna*, continued as cool and as accessible as if no fire had been in the house. Mr. Hartley and some of his friends remained in these very rooms a great part of the time, during which the fire burned with the greatest violence in the other. Nor was it walls, and floors, and ceilings alone, which were thus enabled to mock the rage of the otherwise all devouring element: fixtures and even furniture were rendered proof against it; a bed, in particular, being purposely set on fire, had little more of it consumed than what the fire was immediately applied to. Astonishing as the effects of this contrivance must appear, the means perhaps may be thought equally so. It is only nailing the thinnest plates of iron to the joints; and those plates may be plain, or painted of any colour. "How," says the writer on whose testimony as an eye-witness the chief circumstances of this last experiment are related, "would such an happy event have rejoiced the good heart of the great Berkley, who, in his equally sensible, ingenious, and benevolent queries, looked upon our houses, considering their materials, as so many fire-ships; and our towns and villages, as so many fleets and squadrons of such ships met together for the laudable purpose of mutual destruction!"

While one man was so successfully exerting all the powers of his mind and resources of his fortune in experiments to secure life and property from the dreadful ravages of fire, another was employed in horrid contrivances to destroy, as it were, in a general conflagration, the dock-yards and most flourishing cities in the kingdom. A fire which had broken out in the rope-house at Portsmouth,

on the 7th of December, was then ascribed to accident ; but, about six weeks after, the discovery of a machine in the hemp-house, designed for the same purpose, led, eventually, to the conviction of James Aitken, commonly known by the appellation of John the painter, having been bred to that trade. He was born at Edinburgh, but being of a roving spirit, and strongly addicted to vice, had passed, in a few years, through a course of profligacy, and in 1773 rambled to America, where he continued about two years. Being of a melancholy solitary nature, little is known of his pursuits during that period, but he appears to have returned with a violent antipathy to the government and nation, and soon after formed a scheme for setting fire to the royal dock-yards, and burning the principal trading cities and towns. In the autumn of 1776, he went to France, and communicated his intentions to Mr. Silas Deane, the American plenipotentiary to that court, who told him, according to his own story, that when the work was done, he should be rewarded. Whatever truth there may be in his having received this encouragement, he set about his project with the utmost eagerness ; but his ignorance in the preparation of combustibles prevented the full execution of his plan, some of them, after being deposited and lighted, having failed in their effect. He, however, destroyed the rope-house at Portsmouth, and still pursuing his design, narrowly escaped being taken at Plymouth. His next attempt was to burn the shipping that lay alongside the quay at Bristol ; but failing in this, he set fire to some warehouses in the vicinity, six or seven of which were consumed. Soon after his departure from Bristol, he was taken up in Hampshire for a burglary ; and circumstances appearing to confirm the suspicion of his being at least an accomplice in the fire at Portsmouth, he was removed to London.

On his examinations he refused to answer any question which admitted even of a doubt, in the remotest tendency, that the reply could be wrested to his crimination ; yet, with all his caution, another painter, named Baldwin, who had also spent some time in America, found means to obtain his confidence in prison, and to draw from him the history of his crimes. He was convicted, chiefly on the evidence of this man, after a good defence, in which he dwelt on the acknowledged baseness of the witness ; and received sentence of death with indifference. He was removed from Winchester gaol on the 10th of March, and executed on a gallows sixty feet high before Portsmouth dock-gate. Before he was turned off, he sent for one of the officers belonging to the yard, to whom he acknowledged his crime, and also gave some cautions, with respect to the future preservation of the royal docks from similar dangers.

CHAPTER XII.

Bills for granting Letters of Marque, and for securing persons charged with Treason—Discussion, in a Committee of Supply, on Loan Contracts and German claims—Application for discharging the debts on the Civil List—Increase of the royal revenue—Debate on the Speaker's address to the King—Ways and Means—Extraordinary transactions in India—Lord Chatham's renewed attempt at conciliation with America—Close of the session—Expeditions to Peek's Hill and Danbury—The Americans attack Saggy harbour—Lord Cornwallis defeats a detachment of Washington's army—General Prescott taken and exchanged for General Lee—The British fleet and army sail for Chesapeak Bay—Battle of Brandywine—General Wayne surprised by General Grey—Entrance of Philadelphia—Action at German-town—Forts on the Delaware taken—General Burgoyne takes the command in Canada—Is joined by the Indians, who shortly secede—Various military operations, ending in his surrender at Saratoga—Meetings of Parliament—Debate on the King's speech—Supply—Habeas Corpus suspension—State of the nation—Motions respecting Burgoyne's expedition—Adjournment—Subscriptions for raising new Levies—Debates after the recess—Lord North's plan of conciliation—Ways and Means—Treaty between France and America—Motions in favour of Irish Commerce—Bill to relieve Roman Catholics—Duke of Richmond's motion for abandoning hostilities against America—Lord Chatham's reply—His Death—Honours paid to his memory—General Burgoyne's reception—Motions on the state of the navy, and to restrain members from contract-

ing with government—Prorogation—Provision for the King's Children—Lord Thurlow appointed Chancellor.

Soon after the Christmas recess, which expired on the 21st of January, 1777, a bill was passed, enabling the admiralty to authorize private merchant-ships to make prizes of all vessels belonging to the thirteen revolted colonies; and on the 6th of February Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with or suspected of the crime of high treason, committed in America or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy. He prefaced the motion by observing, that the law, as it stood at present, did not authorize government to apprehend the most suspected person; nor could the crown confine rebel prisoners or pirates in any other place than the common gaols: to remedy these inconveniences, and to empower his Majesty to confine such persons in the same manner as other prisoners of war, until criminal proceedings could be instituted against them, were, his lordship said, the purposes of his bill. It was brought in, and read on the ensuing day, and on the question being put for the second reading, Mr. Dunning, in order, as he alleged, to obtain time for the nation to consider whether they would surrender the foundation and corner-stone of all the rights which they possessed, moved to have the bill printed; in which the minister could not well avoid acquiescing. In every subsequent stage of its progress, it was strongly opposed; no reason, it was said, existed for investing the crown with a power so dangerous, and of such extent, as to bring every subject of the British empire who frequented the seas within its perilous vortex; the minister disclaimed all design of extending the operation of the bill beyond its

open and avowed objects, and readily agreed to some amendments, the object of one of which was to define the crime of piracy, by declaring that nothing should be deemed so but acts of felony committed on the ships or goods of the subject on the high seas : the other, which was of greater importance, was proposed by Mr. Dunning ; and provided that nothing contained therein should be construed to extend to the case of any other prisoners, than such as have been out of the realm, at the time of the offence wherewith they should be charged or suspected. The bill was carried on the third reading, by 112 to 35.

Several accounts of the extraordinary unprovided services of the war having been laid before the committee of supply, it was moved, and carried without a division, that the sum of 970,000*l.* part of the million granted by the last vote of credit, and the farther sum of 1,200,000*l.* should be granted for the discharge of those services ; but the manner of stating the accounts, and the charges in various articles of the expenditure, were strongly objected to. Lord North assured the House that great economy had been observed, and that the best possible terms had in every instance been obtained ; he denied that any preference had been given to members of the House of Commons in contracts, which were always entered into with those who seemed the most able, and who were the best calculated to fulfil their obligations ; but he, at the same time, maintained, that there was nothing in the situation of a gentleman's holding a seat in that House, which should exclude him from the advantages he might otherwise derive as a man of business, either from his engagements with the public, or with individuals. Among the items was one for 44,000*l.* charged as issued to a Colonel Fawcitt, which startled the committee for a moment ; till Lord North informed

them, that the sum had been applied to satisfy a fair and reasonable, though unexpected demand, made by the Landgrave of Hesse for levy-money. But his lordship found it much more difficult, about two months after, to reconcile the House to another claim of above 40,000*l.* set up by the same prince, for the expenses of foreign hospitals in the last war. It was objected to the payment of this sum, that a commission had been appointed and carried into effect upon the late peace, for the sole purpose of examining, settling, and liquidating the German claims, which were found to be so shamefully exorbitant, that a discount of sixty or seventy per cent. was not unusual, even on those which seemed to be the best supported; and that it would be highly disgraceful not only in administration, but in parliament, to submit in every instance to the insatiate rapacity of the German princes. On the other hand, the minister acknowledged the *staleness* of the claim; but as the account was clearly and fairly established, he insisted that length of time did not weaken its justice or validity, and the resolution was carried by a majority of 38 to 20. On receiving the report next day, the debate was renewed with great warmth; and it was agreed to only by a majority of eight.

On the 9th of April, a few days before the discussion of this foreign claim, a message was delivered from the throne, in which much uneasiness was expressed by the King at being obliged to acquaint the House with the difficulties he laboured under, from debts incurred by the expenses of the household and of the civil government, which amounted, on the 5th of January, to upwards of 600,000*l.* The message was attended with a number of papers, containing various accounts of the expenditure, and a comparative statement of the whole amount of the civil list establishment from

the year 1760, with that of the produce of the former revenues which had been appropriated to the like purpose during the same period; the former being intended to explain the causes of the excess in the expenditure, and the latter to show that the crown had been a loser by the bargain which it then made with Parliament. On the 16th of the same month, the day appointed for referring the message to the consideration of the committee of supply, Lord John Cavendish moved, that the order of reference be discharged, which, after a full debate, was rejected by a majority of 281 to 114; and the House, being then resolved into a committee of supply, passed two resolutions to the following purport; *viz.* “that the sum of 618,340*l.* should be granted to enable his Majesty to discharge the debts on the civil list; and that the sum of 100,000*l.* per annum over and above the sum of 800,000*l.* be granted, as a farther provision for the better support of his Majesty’s household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown.” A debate of some warmth ensued; but the motion was carried without difficulty, in both Houses. The Speaker of the House of Commons, on presenting the bill a few days afterwards, for the royal assent, addressed his Majesty in the following terms:—“In a time, Sire, of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burdens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful Commons, postponing all other business, have not only granted to your Majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue, great beyond example, great beyond your Majesty’s highest expense; but all this, Sire, they have done in the well grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally.” The King was little pleased with this unexpected liberty. On the return of the Speaker,

the thanks of the House were immediately voted him ; but, in a subsequent debate, Mr. Rigby, the paymaster of the forces, arraigned his conduct, as conveying little less than an insult on the King, and as equally misrepresenting the sense of Parliament and the state of the nation. The Speaker appealed to the vote of thanks which had been passed, as a proof that he had not been guilty of the misrepresentation imputed to him ; and the minister expressed a wish that the subject might not be farther discussed. Mr. Fox declared, that a serious and direct charge having been brought, the question was now at issue. Either the Speaker had misrepresented the sense of the House, or he had not. He should, therefore, in order to bring this question to a proper and final decision, move, “ that the Speaker of the House, in his speech to his Majesty at the bar of the House of Peers, did express, with just and proper energy, the sentiments of this House.” The Speaker himself declared, that he would sit no longer in that chair than he was supported in the free exercise of his duty. He had discharged what he conceived to be his duty, intending only to express the sense of the House ; and from the vote of approbation with which he had been honoured, he had reason to believe he was not chargeable with any misrepresentation. Ministers, in pressing terms, now recommended the withdrawing of the motion ; but this was positively refused, and Mr. Rigby moved an adjournment. As the House, however, appeared sensible of the degradation which its dignity must sustain from any affront offered to the chair, Mr. Rigby in some degree conceded, professing, that he meant no reflection upon the character of the Speaker, but that what he had said was the mere expression of his private opinion, and the result of that freedom of speech which was the right and privilege of every member of that House,

without respect of persons; and that, if what he had advanced was not agreeable to the sense of the House, he would readily withdraw his motion of adjournment. Mr. Fox's motion was then unanimously carried, and the thanks of the House were voted to the Speaker for his conduct in this affair.

In addition to what has been already observed of the principal grants voted in the committee of supply, it may be proper to give a summary of Lord North's statements at the opening of the budget on the 14th of May. The sum total of the supplies which were deemed necessary for the public service was nearly 13,000,000*l.*: the ordinary revenue, or ways and means for raising these supplies, such as the land tax, the malt duty, the produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, &c. scarcely amounted to seven millions and a half, which left a deficiency of five millions and a half: the five millions were to be funded at an annuity of four per cent. and the remaining half million was to be raised by a lottery: the interest of the new loan, which, with a premium of one half per cent. for ten years, to encourage subscribers, amounted to 225,000*l.*, was to be paid by a tax of one guinea each on all male servants not employed in agriculture or trade; by a duty on auctioneers, and on goods sold by auction; by additional stamp duties; and by additional duties on glass. These taxes being considered to hit the due medium, being mere luxuries and necessities, were agreed to without a division; and, a few days after, a vote of credit for another million, chargeable on the next aids, was passed, to enable his Majesty to defray any extra expenses that might be incurred on account of military service, and to make good the charges of calling in the deficient gold coin.

A most extraordinary transaction in the East Indies, which amounted to no less than the total subversion of established government in one of the

principal settlements on the coast of Coromandel, together with several subsequent proceedings relative to it at the India House, brought the affairs of the company once more within the cognizance of Parliament. This revolution was generally ascribed to the intrigues and ambition of the Nabob of Arcot, who had risen to great power through the protection and alliance of the company, and had gradually acquired an overruling influence in the council at Madras. With a view, it was said, of more effectually promoting his designs, he laid by the jealous state and distant pride of an eastern despot, and seemed to become, as nearly as could possibly be admitted, an inmate and member of the British community at that settlement, making the outward or *black* town, as it is called, the principal seat of his residence. Thus he was in constant possession of every transaction that passed, and even of every proposal that originated in the council; nor is it improbable that some of the measures adopted there arose from his own immediate suggestions. It is certain that a joint enterprise, which was undertaken by the company's forces in that presidency with the nabob's, afforded too much colour to such an opinion, and deeply affected the character of the English nation both in Europe and Asia. This was the famous expedition to Tanjore, an enterprise heard of in almost every part of the world, and in all condemned for its cruelty and injustice. The rajah of Tanjore was one of those Gentoo princes whose ancestors had been long in possession of the country, and who had never been entirely subdued by the Mogul Tartars, but were rendered tributary to their empire, the government being otherwise retained in the original hands. This prince had been for many years in alliance both with the company and the nabob, and had been engaged with them in the perils and fortune of former wars. On

the settlement of the affairs of the East Indies at the treaty of Paris, it was thought necessary to put an end to the dispute between France and England, who supported the interests of different pretenders to power in that part of the world: France was accordingly obliged to admit Salabat Jing as lawful Subah of the Deccan; and Mahomet Ali Cawn as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic. The mogul readily granted, on his part, such powers as were necessary to confirm these arrangements; accounts were liquidated, and a convention made under the authority and guarantee of the company between their own allies. The nabob was to be paid the arrears of, and to receive in future, the tribute due to the mogul, for which he was to be accountable to their common superior, and to have a considerable sum for himself. The rajah was to remain in all other respects as before in possession of his dominions; but a variety of transactions soon after took place between him and the nabob, and new accounts were opened, the rajah alleging that he ought to be allowed for his expenses in certain military services rendered to the nabob, and the latter insisting on receiving immediate payment of the sums stipulated under the late convention without any abatement. These disputes continued for some time, till the nabob prevailed on the powers at Madras, and on the royal commissioners, to fall in with his views; and a war, on the pretence of a delay in payment, broke out. The rajah being little able to withstand the united force of the company and nabob, his capital was taken after a brave defence, and the unhappy prince was stripped, without pity or remorse, of every thing but life. His kingdom was seized by the nabob; his treasures were applied to the expenses of the war, and to other present purposes; whilst his subjects, who were among the most industrious people in India, experienced all the

cruelty and rapacity of a Mahometan conquest and government. The account of this transaction, with all the circumstances of the spoil and ruin of a friend and ally in so unexampled a manner, excited the greatest indignation of the company in England, who were much alarmed at the visible ascendancy over the councils and actions of their servants, of which the nabob had now given a very dangerous proof. He had also removed his eldest son, a mild and moderate prince, from all power, and from the command of his armies, and placed it in the hands of his second son, a young man of a temper more congenial to his own; good policy, therefore, as well as justice, pointed out the propriety of setting some bounds to the nabob's ambitious career, by restoring the rajah to his dominions. The company, at the same time, were far from wishing to fall out with the nabob, if it could be avoided; nor were they disposed to urge matters to an extremity with their servants, a reparation of the outrage and wrong being likely to answer every purpose, whilst a vigorous prosecution of the delinquents would in all probability involve the company's affairs in perplexity. In order to execute so delicate a commission with equal prudence, safety, and honour, it was resolved to send out Lord Pigot as governor and president of Madras, the company very reasonably supposing, that his appearance upon that ground which had been the scene of his former power and glory, where his name and actions were still fresh alive, and where the principal and most dangerous party was little more than the creature of his own making, would have been attended with distinguished advantages; and that he might have performed those acts without envy or jealousy, which would have been opposed or resented in other hands. The time that unavoidably elapsed before Lord Pigot's arrival in his government, afforded a

full scope for the exercise of the nabob's ability in intrigue; and though the part already taken by the council would necessarily influence their conduct in endeavouring to support or confirm their own former act, he thought it prudent to interest them still more deeply in the measure of securing to him the perpetual possession of Tanjore. He accordingly borrowed vast sums of money from several members of the council, and some others whose weight and concurrence might be requisite for the completion of his scheme; and directly or indirectly mortgaged to them the revenues of Tanjore, as a security both for the principal, and for a prodigious interest arising on it, which amounted annually to near one third of the original debt. Lord Pigot reached Madras the latter end of the year 1775, and succeeded so far as to restore the rajah to the just possession of his dominions; but he had now to encounter the mortal enmity of the nabob, and a corrupt combination of the majority of the council, who were farther strengthened by the dangerous power lodged in the hands of the commander in chief of the forces. The disputes grew hotter from day to day, and the cabals with the nabob grew closer and closer. It was of the greatest moment to send a proper officer to Tanjore, and the opposition part of the council agreed with the governor on the measure, and the designation of the person; but they soon changed their minds about the latter, and insisted that, being the majority of the council, they had a right to do every thing regardless of the governor's opinion or dissent. Lord Pigot, finding them actuated by no other principle than that of traversing all his endeavours for carrying the orders of the company into execution, took a very bold step, for which nothing but the exigency of the moment could afford any excuse; and having put the question, carried the suspension of two of the

council by his own casting vote. He also put Sir Robert Fletcher, the commander in chief of the forces, under an arrest for disobedience of his supreme authority in the fortress. Instead of waiting the decision of the company on these measures, a plot was formed by the offended party for seizing the person of the president, and for effecting a complete revolution in their own favour. In consequence of the arrest laid upon Sir Robert Fletcher, Colonel Stuart succeeded to the command of the forces; but though he was in the highest state of intimacy and friendship with Lord Pigot, he entered deeply into the views of the conspirators; and as any military violence offered to the governor within the precincts of the fortress would involve the actors in the penalties of the mutiny laws, the colonel drew him from the only situation which could afford him security. On the 23d of August, 1776, he took occasion, from the excessive heat of the weather, to recommend a cool retreat to a villa at a small distance from Madras, appropriated to the use of the governors, making an offer of his own company as a farther inducement; and on the way they were surrounded, as had been concerted, by an officer and party of seapoys, both in the company's service, when, under the auspices and immediate hands of his late companion and guest, the governor was thrust out of his chaise, and carried prisoner to a place called the Mount, where he was confined under a strong military guard. His enemies now seized all the powers of government, appointing their principal leader to be his successor, and copying the very act on which their chief complaints against him were founded, by removing from the council such members as had voted with him in the former struggle. Both parties sent confidential persons to England, the one to arraign, and the other to justify, the late proceedings; and even the

nabob had an agent in London, who left no means untried to secure effectual support both at the India House and in Parliament. When the whole business, however, was formally laid before the proprietors at their quarterly court, on the 26th of March, 1777, they agreed to a resolution, which was afterwards confirmed on a ballot by a majority of 382 to 140, recommending to the court of directors, “to take the most effectual measures for restoring Lord Pigot to the full exercise of the powers vested in him by the company, and for inquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his imprisonment.” At a court of directors, held on the 11th of April, several resolutions were passed, conformable to this determination. Lord Pigot and his four friends, who had been driven from their seats, were reinstated; and the seven members of the council, including the commander in chief, who had violently overthrown the government by a military force, were suspended from the company’s service; but to these was added a vote of censure on Lord Pigot’s conduct, as in several instances reprehensible; and whilst instructions were preparing to accompany the resolutions, a division amongst the directors caused considerable delay and embarrassment. At length, under the imposing show of an attempt to please all parties, to reconcile all differences, and to administer impartial justice, three new resolutions were proposed; and, to the astonishment of the public, the question in favour of them was carried, at another general court of the proprietors on the 9th of May, by a majority of 414 to 317. By the first of these resolutions, after reprobating the treatment which Lord Pigot had met with, and affording him the mockery of a temporary restoration to his government, without any power of acting in it, he was ordered immediately home, for an inquiry into his conduct; by the second, his friends

in the council were ordered home : and by the third, the whole body of his enemies were likewise recalled. These proceedings at the India House prompted Governor Johnstone to bring the matter before Parliament on the 22d of the same month, and to move several resolutions which strongly approved of Lord Pigot's conduct, and on which he intended to found a bill for better securing the English settlements in the East Indies. The motion was opposed by the friends of administration, though most of the principals were absent, perhaps from an unwillingness to take any share in the debate ; but the speakers of the minority particularly exerted themselves, and Mr. Fox excited such bursts of applause as had seldom been heard in a British House of Commons. On a division, however, the numbers were only 67, in favour of Governor Johnstone's motion, against 90, by whom it was rejected. The unfortunate nobleman, who was the chief subject of the debate, did not live to feel the additional sting of parliamentary injustice, having expired in confinement eleven days before this decision. The affair was again brought before the House of Commons, on the 16th of April, 1779, when Admiral Pigot, the deceased lord's brother, moved an address to his Majesty, praying, " that he would be graciously pleased to give directions to his attorney general to prosecute George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, and George Mackay, Esqrs. for ordering their governor, Lord Pigot, to be arrested and confined under a military force ; they being returned to England, and now within the jurisdiction of his Majesty's courts of Westminster Hall." Stratton, the ringleader of those conspirators, was then in his place, as a member of the House of Commons, and entered into a long defence of his own conduct, as well as that of his colleagues ; but his vindication appeared so unsatisfactory, that

Admiral Pigot's resolutions were carried and the address agreed to unanimously. In the sequel, however, the delinquents, though convicted in the court of King's Bench, were sentenced only to pay a trifling fine.

The attention of Parliament was called from the confusions of the east to the more pressing concerns of the western world. On the 30th of May, the Lords having been summoned for the purpose, a motion was made by the Earl of Chatham, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, advising him to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to the present unnatural war against the colonies, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances." His lordship, though bowed down by age and infirmity, and bearing a crutch in each hand, exerted himself with all the fire of youth. "By the removal of accumulated grievances," said he, "I mean the repeal of every oppressive act which has been passed since the year 1763. This will open the way for treaty: it will be the harbinger of peace to the afflicted colonies; and will convince them, that Parliament is sincerely disposed to reconciliation. We have tried for unconditional submission: let us now try what may be gained by unconditional redress. The door of mercy has been hitherto shut against them: you have ransacked every corner of Germany for boors and ruffians to invade and ravage their country; for to conquer it, my lords, is impossible—You cannot do it. I may as well pretend to drive them before me with this crutch. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. Besides, my lords, could those hopes be even realized, and should you conquer America, you conquer under the cannon of

France, under a masked battery then ready to open. The pretensions of France will increase daily, so as to become an avowed party in either peace or war. The latter is not the less probable because professions of amity continue to be made. It would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gives full employment to our arms, and is pouring into her lap her wealth and produce. While the trade of Great Britain languishes, while her taxes increase and her revenues diminish, France is securing and drawing to herself that commerce which is the basis of your power."—The motion, though well supported by the Duke of Grafton, Lord Camden, and the Earl of Shelburne, was opposed by a very considerable majority, on the ground that it held out nothing new, and was only a repetition of what had been often proposed, and as often rejected in that House: oppressive acts or particular grievances were no longer the subject of dispute; the great question now at issue was the supremacy of Great Britain and the subordinate dependance of America. The lords in administration denied any danger from France, and asserted, that the assistance given to the Americans proceeded neither from the court nor the cabinet, but from the spirit of military enterprise and commercial adventure. The motion was rejected by 99 voices against 28.

A grant of 3000*l.* was voted to the British Museum in the course of the session, and, at its close on the 6th of June, the Speaker, on presenting the bills to the King, again addressed him, stating the hope of the House that speedy means would be found to stop the ravages of war, which would otherwise be attended with consequences ruinous to the prosperity, perhaps dangerous to the safety of the country. The King, in his speech, expressed his entire approbation of the conduct of

Parliament, and thanked them for the unquestionable proofs they had given of their clear discernment of the true interests of their country.

During the recess no occurrence took place at home worth recording, but almost every day brought intelligence of the progress of the campaign in America. It began early in the spring with small enterprises, which were conducted with great spirit, and were considered as precludes to more enlarged plans of operation. A detachment of 500 men, under Colonel Bird, was sent on the 23d of March about fifty miles from New York, up the North river, to Peek's Kill, which served as a kind of port to a mountainous tract, called the manor of Courland, where the Americans, during the winter, had erected mills, and established their principal magazines. The enemy, though superior in number, retired to a strong pass about two miles distant, first setting fire to the barracks and storehouses, and the British troops, after destroying several small craft laden with provisions, returned to New York.

Sir William Howe having obtained intelligence that the Americans had deposited large quantities of stores and provisions in the town of Danbury, and other places in the borders of Connecticut, which lay contiguous to Courland Manor, it was resolved to undertake another expedition against those parts; and the conduct of it was intrusted to Governor Tryon, who had been lately promoted to the rank of major-general of the loyalists, as a reward for his activity in raising and disciplining considerable bodies of them. He was accompanied by Brigadier-general Agnew and Sir William Erskine. Two thousand men were landed on the 25th of April about twenty miles to the southward of Danbury, at ten o'clock at night, and reached their destination

at day-break, the enemy being unprepared to oppose them : but they soon perceived that the country was rising to intercept their return ; and as they were unable to bring off the stores and provisions, they proceeded without delay, to the destruction of the magazine. The town was also reduced to ashes. A day having been spent in the execution of this service, the American generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, hastily collecting such militia as were within their reach, exerted every effort to cut off the retreat of the detachment. In one of these skirmishes, Wooster was mortally wounded ; and though Arnold, by crossing the country, had gained an advantageous post at Ridgefield, and had thrown up some intrenchments to cover his front, he found the British troops irresistible : the village was forced ; the Americans were driven back on every side ; and their commander, who displayed much personal valour, had a very narrow escape. It being then late in the evening, General Tryon and his men rested on their arms that night ; but at day-break, the enemy, having been reinforced with troops and cannon, assailed them from all quarters, and skirmishes were continued till the royal forces gained the hill of Compo, within half a mile of the shipping, where they formed immediately upon the high ground. Sir William Erskine, placing himself at the head of 400 of the most able of the detachment, charged the enemy with the bayonet, and so completely routed them, that the British troops were suffered to re-embark without any farther annoyance. Large quantities of corn, flour, and salt provisions, about 2000 tents, with various military stores and necessaries, were destroyed in the course of this expedition. The British troops did not sustain so considerable a loss as might have been expected during this harassing

march ; the killed, wounded, and missing, amounting to 172. That sustained by their opponents was much greater.

The Americans were in some measure revenged for these losses by the result of a visit to Long Island. Having received intelligence that commissaries had, for some time, been employed in procuring forage, grain, and other necessities for the British forces, and that these articles were deposited at a little port called Saggy Harbour, Colonel Meigs, an active officer, who had attended Arnold to Quebec, and had been taken prisoner in the attempt to storm that city, crossed the sound on the 23d of May with a detachment of about 150 men in whale-boats ; he first landed on the north branch of the island, and, after carrying the boats over an arm of land, embarked again, and landed on the south branch, within four miles of Saggy Harbour. They arrived at this place before day-break, and succeeded in burning a dozen brigs and sloops that lay at the wharf, and destroying every thing that was deposited on the shore. They also brought off with them about ninety prisoners, including the officer on duty, with his men, and the crews of the small vessels which they had destroyed. If the American account of this expedition be correct, it was accomplished with remarkable celerity, the party having, within twenty-five hours, not only fully accomplished the object of their enterprise, but traversed, by land and water, a space of 90 miles.

The troops under Lord Cornwallis at Brunswick and Amboy suffered considerable hardship, during the winter, from the severity of the weather, the difficulty of obtaining provisions and forage, and the unremitting duty occasioned by the nearness of the enemy, and by the frequent attempts made on both sides to surprise each other's outposts. Though the

Americans were defeated in almost every encounter, yet these skirmishes gradually inured them to military service. About the latter end of May, congress were enabled to send large supplies of men from the different provinces to General Washington, who, on receiving this reinforcement, quitted his former camp at Morris-town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunswick, took possession of the strong country along Middle-brook, which was secured by every means both of natural and artificial defence, and commanded at the same time a full view of all the motions of his adversaries. The army at New York was not able to take the field till June, for want of tent and field equipage, which at length arriving from England, with a body of Anspach troops and some British and German recruits, Sir William Howe, with a force very greatly superior to that of Washington, which only amounted to 7272 men, passed over to the Jerseys, resolved to try all possible means of inducing his opponent to quit his fastenings, and to hazard an engagement ; but the American commander penetrated into his designs, and eluded them by his cool, collected, and prudent conduct. Finding every other manœuvre ineffectual, Sir William, after having continued four days in front of the enemy's lines, retreated on the 19th of June, with marks of seeming precipitation. He ordered the whole army to fall back from Brunswick to Amboy, a movement which had all the immediate effect that could have been expected, and several large bodies under the command of the generals Maxwell, Conway, and Lord Stirling, rushed on to harass the rear.

Another measure adopted by the British general at Amboy served to complete the delusion : he threw a bridge over the channel that separates Staten Island from the continent ; and a part of

the troops having crossed with the heavy baggage, the rest of the army seemed just ready to follow ; so that every thing concurred to make the Americans believe that the retreat was real. Even Washington, with all his caution, was so far imposed upon by this feint, that he left his almost inaccessible posts upon the hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble-town, to be the nearer at hand for the protection or support of his advanced parties. The British general lost no time in endeavouring to profit by these circumstances, and marched the army back by different routes with the utmost expedition, in hopes of cutting off some of those parties that had been most eager in the pursuit, and of coming up with the main body at Quibble-town ; or, if these schemes failed through the celerity of the enemy, Lord Cornwallis, with his column, was to take a considerable circuit to the right, and strive to get possession of some passes in the mountains, which, by their situation and command of ground, would have reduced Washington to the necessity of abandoning his strong hold. In the prosecution of this part of the plan, his lordship fell in with a large detachment of the enemy, consisting of about 3000 men, under the command of Lord Stirling and General Maxwell, strongly posted, and well provided with artillery, whom he put to the rout, and pursued as far as Westfield, where the woods and the intense heat of the day put a stop to his career ; the Americans lost 200 men and three pieces of brass cannon. General Washington soon perceived his error, and as speedily remedied it, by regaining his station on the hills, and securing those passes which were the grand object of Lord Cornwallis's enterprise. Sir William Howe, being now convinced that any new scheme of bringing the Americans to an engagement would be not only fruitless, but a waste

of that time and season which might be better employed elsewhere, resolved to convey his army by sea into the heart of Pennsylvania. On the 28th of June, he returned with all the forces to Amboy, and next day crossed over to Staten Island, whence the embarkation was intended to take place.

During the cessation produced by preparations on the one side, and a general alarm on the other from the impossibility of knowing where the storm would fall, a spirited adventure was undertaken by an American colonel of the name of Barton, which had for its object the carrying off General Prescott, who commanded at Rhode Island, and thereby not only retaliating the surprise of General Lee, but also procuring an indemnification for his person. The British general's head quarters were on the west side of the island, about a quarter of a mile from the shore. He was guarded by only one centinel at time ; and as there was not any body of troops within a mile of him, nor any patrols along the shore, he must have depended solely on a guard-ship that lay in the bay, opposite to his quarters. Colonel Barton, being acquainted with these circumstances, set out from Providence, with some officers and soldiers, in two boats, keeping close to the island, till he came to the south end, where he remained till dark, and then proceeded across the bay, and landed near the general's quarters about midnight. The centinel was surprised ; the general was taken out of bed ; and, without being suffered to put on his clothes, was hurried on board one of the boats. The boat passed under the stern of British guard-ship without being perceived, and conveyed the general in safety to Providence. He was much blamed for his imprudence, in trusting himself so far from the troops under his command, and not adopting proper means of security. He

had also been weak enough to provoke some such attempt by offering a reward for taking Arnold, as if he had been a common outlaw; a silly insult, which Arnold immediately returned, by setting an inferior price upon Prescott's person. Sir William Howe had hitherto steadily refused to release General Lee on any conditions whatever; but the capture of General Prescott obliged him to give up that point, and Lee was in a short time restored to the American cause.

On the 23d of July, the army, leaving a sufficient force under General Clinton for the defence of New York, and seven battalions at Rhode Island, sailed with the fleet from Sandy Hook; and after being pent up in transports till the 25th of August, in the hottest season of the year, landed at Elk Ferry, at the head of Chesapeak Bay. Washington, whose force had been augmented to 14,000, and who had been for some weeks in anxious suspense as to the destination of the troops, upon this intelligence took possession of the heights on the eastern side of the river Brandywine, which falls into the Delaware below Philadelphia, with an intention to dispute the passage. By day-break on the 11th of September, the British army advanced in two columns, the right commanded by General Knyphausen, marching directly to Chadsford; and the other column, under Lord Cornwallis, taking a circuit to the left in order to cross the *forks* of the Brandywine, and attack the enemy on the right flank. The first, after a severe conflict, succeeded in forcing the passage of the ford, and the latter routed the right wing, commanded by General Sullivan. The approach of night, and Sir William Howe's usual tardiness, or rather neglect to push his advantages, next morning, prevented the total destruction of the American army. About 300 of them were killed in the action, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken prisoners: they

also lost several pieces of artillery. Of the British 100 were killed, and 400 wounded. Had an early and vigorous pursuit been ordered next day, it was confidently asserted, that the small and confused parties of the enemy must have been cut off, and that even Washington and the corps he kept together, with whom he remained for the whole night at Chester, only eight miles from the field of battle, would have been intercepted in their retreat to Philadelphia, as it was twenty-three miles distant from them, though no more than eighteen from the British camp ; but, on the other hand, it must be admitted, that the army having been so long confined in transports, was not in a condition to make a very rapid advance. The Marquis de la Fayette, then only nineteen years of age, who had recently entered into the American service, was wounded in this engagement.

Intelligence having been received on the 20th of September, that General Wayne had concealed himself in the woods, with 1500 men, for the purpose of harassing the British army on their march, Major-general Grey was detached at night, with two regiments and a body of light infantry, to surprise that corps. His skill and energy were very conspicuous in this enterprise. He gave strict orders that not a gun should be fired, and that his men should trust solely to the silent effect of the bayonet. The enemy's outposts were completely surprised, at one in the morning ; and a dreadful slaughter took place, about 300 being killed or wounded, and 100 taken, the remainder escaping by the darkness of the night, with the loss of their baggage and stores. Only four were killed on the side of the victors, and the same number wounded. Three days after, the whole army passed the Schuylkill without opposition, and advanced on the 26th to German-town, a village about seven miles from the capital of the

province, where the main body formed an encampment. Next morning Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a strong detachment, took peaceable possession of Philadelphia, the congress having removed their sittings to York-town in Virginia, and General Washington having also withdrawn to Skippach Creek, a strong post about sixteen miles from the British head quarters.

As soon as Lord Howe received intelligence of these successes, he moved round with the fleet from the Chesapeak to the Delaware, the navigation of which the Americans had endeavoured to render impracticable by works and batteries constructed on a low, marshy island, formed near the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkill; and on the opposite shore, by a redoubt and intrenchment at a place called Redbank. Across the mid-channel they had in various parts sunk large transverse beams, bolted together, and strongly headed with iron pikes pointing in various directions, to which, from the resemblance of form, the appellation was given of *chevaux-de-frize*. Dr. Franklin is said to have assisted in the contrivance of the whole machinery, before his departure for France. To remove these obstructions, so as to open a communication between the fleet and the army, was an object of the utmost importance; but it could not be accomplished without previously reducing the forts, by which they were defended. Some strong parties were therefore employed on this service: three regiments had been left at Chester, for the purpose of securing the conveyance of stores and provisions; and the detachment under Lord Cornwallis at Philadelphia consisted of four battalions of grenadiers and a squadron of light horse. General Washington, hearing of this dispersion of the British forces, and having been lately strengthened by the arrival of 1500 troops from Peck's Kill, and 1000

Virginians, formed the design of surprising the camp at German-town. With this view he left Skippach Creek at six in the evening of the 3d of October, and marching all night, began his attack at day-break. The 40th regiment, which lay at the head of the village, being overpowered by numbers, was under the necessity of retreating; but their brave commander, Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, contrived to keep five companies together, and took post with them in a large stone house, which lay full in front of the enemy. This gallant conduct arrested the Americans in their career, and in the event prevented the separation of the right and left wings, while it afforded time to the whole line to get under arms. The colonel and his party, though surrounded by a brigade, who at length brought up four pieces of cannon to the assault, maintained their post with undaunted courage, pouring a dreadful and incessant fire through the windows, till they were relieved by Major-general Grey and three battalions of the left wing, who were vigorously supported by Brigadier-general Agnew at the head of the fourth brigade. The engagement for some time was very warm, when a part of the right wing pouring down upon the enemy from the opposite side of the village, they made good their retreat, with all their artillery, under cover of a thick fog. The loss of the Americans in this action was supposed to amount to between 2 and 300 killed, 600 wounded, and above 400 prisoners. General Nash and several inferior officers were among the slain. The British troops also suffered severely. About 70 were killed, including Brigadier-general Agnew and Lieutenant-colonel Bird, officers of distinguished reputation. A few only were taken prisoners; but the wounded amounted to near 450.

Measures being soon after concerted between Sir William Howe and his brother for removing

the obstructions of the river, the British army withdrew from German-town to the vicinity of Philadelphia, and a strong body of Hessians was sent over Cowper's Ferry on the 22d of October to storm the fortress of Red-bank, whilst the ships and batteries on the other side were to carry on their attacks against Mud Island, and against several armed vessels stationed there. Though the best dispositions were made for these attacks, the enterprise was in every respect unfortunate; the Hessians, after a desperate engagement, were repulsed with prodigious slaughter; and the men of war and frigates, though they made their way through the lower barrier, could not bring their fire to bear, with effect, either on the principal works, or on the enemy's marine. The *Augusta* man of war and *Merlin* sloop were stranded in avoiding the *chevaux-de-frize*, and the former was by accident blown up. On the 15th of November, the attack was renewed with a more formidable force; and the artillery of the enemy being completely silenced towards evening, the garrison retired in the night across the river in boats to Red-bank, which was also soon after evacuated. The *chevaux-de-frize* were now weighed with much difficulty, and the free navigation of the Delaware was restored; but as winter was fast advancing, no farther military or naval enterprises of moment were attempted in that quarter during the remainder of the season, for which Sir William Howe has been thought censurable.

Washington had taken post at a place called Valley Forge, about 26 miles distant, where his soldiers, destitute of tents and winter clothing, built huts in the woods, to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather; a dreadful mortality raged in his hospitals; and the supplies of provisions were scanty and precarious: his numbers

were also reduced by desertion, so that in three months he had not 4000 effective men. He continued in this state from December to May, during which time Sir William Howe, with 14,000 well-appointed troops, lay quiet at Philadelphia, where a want of proper discipline pervaded his army; and whilst hunger and disease thinned the Americans at Valley Forge, indolence and luxury weakened the British forces at Philadelphia.

The war on the side of Canada and the Lakes was also an object of the utmost importance, and was intrusted to General Burgoyne, who, after concerting with the ministry the plan of the intended expedition, returned to America early in the spring of 1777, as commander-in-chief of the northern army beyond the limits of Canada, an appointment which occasioned Sir Guy Carleton to resign his government in disgust. This meritorious and esteemed officer had acted, throughout the former campaign, with equal vigour, judgment, and success; from his long residence in Canada, he knew more accurately than General Burgoyne the situation of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, and the extent of its resources; and he would have been more aware of the difficulties to be encountered, and better prepared to surmount them. General Burgoyne commenced his operations at the head of 7173 British and German troops, exclusive of a corps of artillery; and several nations of Indians, inhabiting the back settlements of the province and the borders of the Lakes, joined his army, the acceptance of whose services has been loudly condemned as abhorrent to religion and humanity; but it may be urged, in extenuation of the seeming atrocity of the measure, that General Burgoyne was induced to adopt it from a well-grounded supposition that, if he refused their offers, they would instantly join the enemy.

General Burgoyne and his army set out from St. John's on the 16th of June, and proceeding up Lake Champlain, landed near Crown Point, where he met the Indians in congress ; and, in compliance with their customs, gave them a war-feast, and made a speech designed to direct their military ardour to proper objects, and to mitigate their natural ferocity. He soon after issued a proclamation, or manifesto, apprizing the colonists of the dangers impending over them, should they resist his Majesty's arms, and amplifying the terrors of a savage foe set loose upon them, in lofty or rather bombastic language. After a short stay at Crown Point, the army embarked again on the lake, and continued their course to Ticonderoga, where the Americans appeared to be in great force. From the natural strength of this fortress, and some additional works lately constructed, much difficulty was expected to attend the siege ; on the approach of the English, however, it was suddenly evacuated in the night of the 5th of July, the garrison retreating by land, and sending their baggage, provisions, and stores in batteaux up the South river. On discovering the flight of the enemy, preparations were immediately made for a vigorous pursuit both by land and water. The greatest part of their naval force was captured or destroyed by General Burgoyne near the falls of Skenesborough ; and the rear of their army was overtaken next morning, and entirely defeated by Brigadier-general Frazer, after an obstinate action, in which the British had about 120 killed and wounded : the Americans lost about 200 killed, and as many prisoners ; and it was supposed that not less than 600 wounded died in the woods : the van, commanded by General St. Clair, fled with great precipitation to Fort Edward, on the North or Hudson's river, where General

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General Burgoyne rested his troops for some days at Skenesborough, and then set off with an intention of taking the road that leads to Hudson's river, and thence to Albany, in order to open a communication with Lake George, on which he had embarked the heavy artillery and baggage. In this undertaking the men had infinite difficulties to encounter; swamps and morasses were to be passed, and bridges to be constructed not only over creeks, but over ravines and gullies. The roads were also to be cleared of forest trees, which had been cut down for the purposes of obstruction, and were laid across with their branches interwoven. Notwithstanding all these obstacles, in a sultry season of the year, and in a close country, which the numerous insects render almost intolerable to Europeans, the royal army endured the fatigue with the utmost cheerfulness; their slow progress, however, afforded the Americans time to recover from their first panic, and to recruit their strength. On the advance of the British troops, they retreated down the river to Saratoga, where General Schuyler was joined by a reinforcement of men and artillery under the command of General Arnold; after which the whole body was judiciously posted in a central situation, on an island in the shape of an half-moon called Still-water, about eight miles from Albany. General Burgoyne's army did not reach Fort Edward till the 30th of July; but the joy with which the sight of the North river, so long the object of their hopes and wishes, inspired the troops, seemed to be considered as an ample compensation for their time and labours. They now bent all their efforts to bring forward provisions and stores from Fort George, in order to form a magazine for their sub-

sistence in their farther progress through the wild, uncultivated country they had yet to traverse ; so ineffectual, however, were their utmost exertions, that on the 15th of August they had only four days' provision in store ; and the general, understanding that large supplies of cattle, corn, and other necessaries for the use of the enemy, were collected at Bennington, about twenty-four miles to the eastward of Hudson's river, detached Colonel Baum, at the head of 600 men, to surprise the place, he himself moving with the rest of the army up the eastern bank of the river, and encamping nearly opposite to Saratoga. The colonel, finding his destination discovered, and his force inadequate to the purpose, halted on the second day's march within seven miles of Bennington, whence he communicated intelligence of his situation to General Burgoyne, who dispatched 500 Germans, under Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, to his assistance. But the commanding officer at Bennington, being joined by a body of 1000 men who happened to be then on their route to General Schuyler's camp, advanced with the utmost rapidity, surrounded Colonel Baum's small corps, forced their intrenchments, made themselves masters of their cannon, and after a brave resistance, in which Baum and the greater part of his associates fell, compelled the rest to take shelter in the woods. Breyman, ignorant of this disaster, came up just in time to join the fugitives ; and being suddenly attacked, escaped with difficulty, and with the loss of his artillery : 600 men were sacrificed in this unfortunate expedition. In the mean time, Colonel St. Leger, who commanded a separate corps on the Mohawk river, had, in conjunction with Sir John Johnson and a great body of Indians, invested Fort Stanwix ; but a report of Arnold's approach having alarmed the savages, who threatened to quit the besieging army

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if a retreat was not immediately commenced, the colonel found himself obliged, on the 22d of August, to raise the siege, leaving behind him his artillery and stores.

General Burgoyne heard of these misfortunes, which principally contributed to the ruin of his expedition, nearly at the same time. The Canadians and Indians who effected their retreat from Baum and Breyman's corps, dispirited their countrymen by exaggerating the valour of the Americans who had driven them back, so that an extensive defection took place among the Indians, and the Canadian boatmen and drivers employed with the army took every opportunity to return home, although it was known that many were killed by the Indian deserters, who thus obtained a scalp to exhibit as a trophy. The rewards which General Burgoyne gave to the savages for living prisoners bore no estimation in comparison with their scalps, and his restricting them in this point was made a strong ground for quitting him ; so that whilst the Americans abused him for cruelty, the Indians deserted him for the want of it. That these remorseless savages were little in the habit of distinguishing between friends and foes was instanced in the murder of Miss Macrea, in the innocence of youth and bloom of beauty, on the very day of her intended nuptials with a British officer. Mr. Jones, her lover, from an anxiety for her safety, engaged some Indians to remove her from among the Americans, and promised to reward the person who should bring her safe to him, with a barrel of rum. Two of the Indians, who had conveyed her some distance, disputed which of them should present her to her intended husband, both being anxious for the reward, when one of them to prevent the other from receiving it, killed her with his tomakawk. General Burgoyne obliged the Indians to deliver up

the murderer, threatening to put him to death, and his life was only spared upon the Indians agreeing to terms, which the general thought would be more efficacious than an execution, in preventing similar mischiefs.

About this period General Gates was appointed to supercede Schuyler in the command of the northern army, which was now formidable in numbers, and in high spirits on account of the late successes. General Burgoyne, having collected about thirty days' provisions, crossed the river by means of a bridge of boats, on the 13th and 14th of September, and encamped on the heights of Saratoga, the enemy not receding from their position at Stillwater. His farther movements being greatly retarded by a heavy train of artillery, and by the almost impassable state of the roads, the Americans, on the 19th of September, advanced a small distance from their camp to meet the royal army; and, after an action which continued from three in the afternoon till sun-set, the British were left masters of the field of battle, but derived no other advantage from the encounter, the loss on each side being nearly equal, and the Americans having retired only because the close of day made a retreat to their camp necessary. The royal army lay all night on their arms, and in the morning took a position within cannon-shot of the enemy, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left to the banks of the river; but their force was considerably weakened by the disinclination of the savages to stay any longer. They had been disappointed in their hopes of plunder; and the season for hunting, which they never on any account forego, was arrived. They accordingly deserted General Burgoyne, unmoved by any representations of the distress in which their secession would involve him. At this crisis, he received a letter, in cypher, from General

Clinton, informing him of a design to make a diversion in his favour by an expedition up the North river, which he, in reply, urged the immediate performance of, declaring his intention to wait in his present post for some favourable turn of affairs till the 12th of October. Early in the month General Clinton accordingly proceeded, at the head of about 3000 men, with a naval force under Commodore Hotham, against Forts Clinton and Montgomery on the lower parts of the river, and took them by storm. An immense boom of rafts, extending from shore to shore, and strengthened by a chain weighing upwards of fifty tons, was also broken through; after which Sir James Wallace, ascending the river with a flying squadron of light frigates, succeeded in burning a great number of American vessels; and General Vaughan, with a military detachment, landed at Esopus-creek, destroyed two batteries, and burnt the town to ashes, though the Americans left it without resistance. As we are persuaded that no British officer would wantonly commit such an act, we cannot entertain a doubt of its being designed to answer some military purpose. There was now little to oppose General Clinton's advance; but the loss which he had sustained, in the midst of his successes, and the apprehensions that his retreat would in the end be cut off, induced him to return to New York without risking any farther attempts to relieve the northern army, with the extremely perilous situation of which he was then unacquainted.

General Burgoyne's difficulties were in the mean time increasing rapidly, the strength of his opponents having been so greatly augmented as to render the possibility of his retreat extremely precarious, and his army being reduced to little more than 5000 men, who were limited to half the usual

allowance of provisions ; the horses were perishing for want of forage ; and no intelligence was received of General Clinton's approach. Thus circumstanced, the general himself, with a detachment of 1500 men, made a movement to the right on the 7th of October, to discover if there were any means of forcing a passage. The Americans, perceiving the British army thus weakened, compelled them to retire within their lines, and immediately stormed them in different parts with uncommon fierceness, under a heavy and well-supported fire of artillery, grape-shot, and musketry. Arnold, who led on the attack, being severely wounded, his party, after long and repeated efforts, was repulsed : but the Americans were more successful in another quarter, having forced the intrenchments defended by the German troops, who were totally routed, with the loss of their baggage, tents, and artillery. General Frazer, Colonel Breyman, and several other officers of note, fell on this unfortunate day ; a considerable number were wounded ; and about 200 prisoners taken by the enemy, who obtained from the spoils of the field a large supply of ammunition under a scarcity of which they had long laboured. As they had also made a lodgment, General Burgoyne felt the necessity of an immediate change of position ; and, amidst the horrors of a night so fatally ushered in, retreated with great celerity and ability to the heights in the rear of his former encampment. Next day, October the 8th, being sensible that nothing less than a signal and decisive action could extricate him, the general repeatedly offered battle to the enemy, which they prudently declined, in hopes of turning his right, so as to enclose him on all sides. On discovering their intentions, he fell back to Saratoga, where he found the passes already occupied by the Americans. The farther shores of the

river were also lined with numerous detachments of troops, which, with the assistance of their batteaux, entirely commanded the navigation ; so that the only means of escape seemed to be by a rapid nocturnal march to Fort Edward, each soldier being ordered to carry his provision on his back ; but intelligence being received that the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George were everywhere secured and fortified, the attempt was considered hopeless ; and the stock of provisions being nearly exhausted, it was resolved, at a council of war, on the 13th of October, that terms of capitulation should be proposed to General Gates. After a short negotiation, a convention was concluded, by which it was agreed that the British army should march out of the camp with the honours of war, and then lay down their arms ; and be allowed a free embarkation from Boston to Europe, upon condition of their not serving again in America during the present war, unless exchanged by cartel. The terms, considering the increasing force and advantageous situation of the enemy, were unexceptionable. When the vanquished regiments piled their arms, the generosity of the American commander would not suffer an individual to leave his camp to witness the sad spectacle ; but congress afterwards suspended the execution of the treaty, and unjustifiably detained the British troops at Boston. Such was the catastrophe of an army, consisting, at its departure from Canada, of above 10,000 men, but reduced, by the sword, by famine, hardship, and disease, to little more than half the original number.

General Burgoyne, reduced from the lofty language of his manifesto to the necessity of recrimination, laid the blame of his miscarriages upon Sir William Howe, for not having sent a force for co-operation up the North river to Albany ; on Lord

George Germaine, for having tied up his hands by the peremptory tenor of his orders; and on the slowness with which the Germans had marched to Bennington, the source of his distresses. But it was urged, in reply, that the force put under his command for the intended expedition was nearly, if not fully, equal to what he himself had required; that he ought not, on any doubtful prospect of a co-operating army from New York, to have given up his communication with the Lakes; and that his conduct in sending so small a detachment to Bennington, consisting of foreigners, and of all foreigners the slowest in their motions, was an absurdity bordering on infatuation. It was the opinion of military men that he encumbered himself with too much artillery, and that if his advance had been more rapid, the Americans were so dispirited by the flight from Ticonderoga that they would have been unable either to collect an army, or to inspire it with that confidence which is necessary to ensure success.

As the accounts of this disastrous termination of the campaign on the frontiers of Canada had not reached England before the meeting of Parliament on the 20th of November, the speech from the throne expressed his Majesty's confidence, that the spirit and intrepidity of his forces would be attended with important success; but intimated the necessity of preparing for such farther operations as the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels, might render expedient: though repeated assurances were received from foreign powers of their pacific dispositions, yet as the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continued, a considerable augmentation of the navy was thought advisable: these various services would require large supplies; and nothing, it was added, could relieve the royal mind from the concern felt for the

heavy charge they must bring on the people, but a perfect conviction of their being necessary for the welfare and essential interests of the kingdom : at the close of the speech, his Majesty said, he should steadily pursue the measures engaged in for the re-establishment of constitutional subordination through the several parts of his dominions ; but should ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of his subjects, and to the calamities of war : he still hoped that the deluded and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance, and enable him to accomplish, what he should consider as the greatest happiness of his life, and the greatest glory of his reign, the restoration of peace, order, and confidence to his American colonies. In the House of Commons, the address was opposed by the Marquis of Granby, who moved an amendment, recommending measures of accommodation, and an immediate cessation of hostilities, which, after a long discussion, was rejected by a majority of 243 to 86. The Earl of Chatham was not more successful in his endeavours to carry a similar amendment in the House of Lords. His speech was full of those bold and glowing strains of declamatory eloquence, for which he was particularly distinguished. “ I will not join,” said he, “ in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. The smoothness of flattery cannot avail—cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth. We must dispel the delusion and the darkness which envelop it ; and display, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors.”—He then drew a melancholy picture of the degradation of the glories of England, saying, “ ‘ But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world : now, none so poor to do her reverence !’—I use,”

he added, "the words of a poet ; but though it be poetry, it is no fiction.—France, my lords, has insulted you : she has encouraged and sustained America : the people whom you affect to call contemptible rebels are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy ; and our ministers dare not interpose with effect." His lordship argued that the present was the only crisis of time and situation for opening a treaty with the Americans. "In their negotiations with France," said he, "they have, or think they have, reason to complain : though it be notorious that they have received from that power important supplies, and assistance of various kinds ; yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree. America is in ill humour with France on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations : let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation."—The consequences of the war, the manner in which it had been carried on, and the impossibility of conquering America, received a gloss of novelty from his lordship's power of description. "In three campaigns," said he, "we have done nothing, and suffered much.—You may swell every expense, strain every effort, accumulate every assistance, traffic and barter with every pitiful German despot that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince ; your attempts will be for ever vain and impotent : doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely ; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies, to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. Your own army is infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies. If I were an American, as I am an English-

man, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I never would lay down my arms—never ; never ; never ! But, my lords, who is the man, that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage : to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman habitant of the woods ? to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of this barbarous war against our brethren ?—Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers, what other allies have they acquired ? What other powers have they associated to their cause ! Have they entered into alliance with the king of the gypsies ? Nothing, my lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels.” Lord Chatham then drew a deplorable picture of the weak and unprepared condition of the country ; we had not, he said, twenty ships of the line sufficiently manned, the river of Lisbon was in the possession of the enemy, and the seas were swept by American privateers. His lordship concluded by urging an immediate cessation of hostilities, and a long and vehement debate ensued. Lord Sandwich acknowledged the noble earl’s amazing powers of oratory, but remarked that oratory was one thing, and truth, reason, and conviction another ; that when the matter which had been urged was separated from the manner, it would be found to contain nothing that could induce their lordships to dissent from the original address ; he stated that forty-two ships of the line were in commission in Great Britain, thirty-five of which were completely manned, and ready for sea at a moment’s warning ; that the force under Lord Howe consisted of six ships of the line, besides eighty-seven frigates, sloops, and vessels of war ; and that the great number of ships taken or de-

stroyed by our fleet on that station, and the few losses we had sustained in those seas, afforded the best reply to the exaggerated account of the ravages and insults of the American privateers. With such a force, Great Britain could, he said, have nothing to fear from France and Spain, even supposing them to be bent upon hostilities, and as to our having lost the port of Lisbon, the information was perfectly new to him. The Portuguese court had not only given us the most solemn assurances of friendship, but had forbid our rebellious subjects to enter their ports. France, so far from having treated us with indignity or insult, had all along paid the utmost attention to our remonstrances, had forbid American privateers to enter her ports with prizes, and had compelled the restoration of two prizes taken there. In regard to the employment of foreigners, if the Americans, his lordship asked, were applauded for procuring the assistance of French officers, was the mother country to be denied the exercise of the same prudence? The employment of Indians, he said, was a matter of necessity; they were found in the country, and whoever made war there must have them for friends or enemies. Lord Suffolk remarked, that, in such a war, it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature had put into our hands, on which Lord Chatham suddenly arose; "I am astonished," he exclaimed, "I am shocked to hear such principles confessed; to hear them avowed in this House, or in this country. My lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled to speak. We are called upon as members of this House, as men, as Christians, to protest against such horrible barbarity. 'That God and nature put into our hands!' What ideas of God and nature that noble lord may entertain I know

not, but I know that such detestable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity! What attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife!—to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, devouring, drinking the blood of his mangled victims! Such notions shock every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of honour. These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend and this most learned bench to vindicate the religion of their God, to support the justice of their country. I call upon the bishops, to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn—upon the judges, to interpose the purity of their ermine to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the constitution.” His lordship proceeded to state, that he considered the employment of savages by the British as more reprehensible than the use of bloodhounds by Spain against the natives of Mexico, and concluded thus: “I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head upon my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such enormous and preposterous principles.” The amendment was rejected by a majority of 97 to 28; and the question on the address was then carried without a division.

A motion in the committee of supply, on the 26th of November, for 60,000 seamen for the service of 1778, passed without a division; and, on the same day, the attorney-general moved for the renewal,

during a certain limited term of the bill passed last session for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* law in certain cases of piracy and treason. Although the bill was warmly opposed, it was carried, on the third reading, by a majority of 116 to 60. The number of troops to be employed in America was fixed at 55,000, after many severe animadversions on the mode of conducting every branch of the service.

On the 2d of December Mr. Fox moved for a committee of the whole House to inquire into the state of the nation, to which the minister agreed, but a motion for certain papers to elucidate the subject was negatived by a majority of 178 against 89, although intelligence arrived, during the debate, that a similar motion, made by the Duke of Richmond in the other House, had been agreed to by the lords in administration. In the course of his speech Mr. Fox compared Lord George Germaine, the minister who presided over American affairs, to Dr. Sangrado. "Bleeding," he said, "was his only prescription for all ills. Should mortal symptoms appear in the body politic in consequence of this regimen, still this state empiric will persist in crying out for more blood, merely because he has staked his reputation on the assertion that this is the only effectual remedy."

On the following day, (December the 3d,) the disclosure of the melancholy catastrophe at Saratoga took place; when, after a period of silent astonishment and consternation, a torrent of invective was poured forth by the leaders of the opposition against the ministers, whose pride, ignorance, and incapacity, they averred, had occasioned a more signal disgrace and calamity than had ever before, in the most disastrous war, befallen the British arms. Lord North acknowledged that he had indeed been unfortunate, but that his intentions were ever just and upright; that he had originally been,

in a manner forced into an office which he would most willingly and gladly resign, if the surrender of his place and honours would facilitate the attainment of that peace and reconciliation for which he had ever earnestly wished. On the 5th Lord Chatham moved, in the House of Peers, that copies of all orders and instructions to General Burgoyne relative to the northern expedition be laid before the House. Holding up a paper, he said that he had the King's speech in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. That speech contained a most unfaithful picture of the state of public affairs ; it had a specious outside, was full of hopes, while every thing within was full of danger. A system destructive of all faith and confidence had been introduced, his lordship affirmed, within the last fifteen years at St. James's, by which pliable men, not capable men, had been raised to the highest posts of government, and a few persons had obtained an ascendancy where no personal ascendancy should exist. The spirit of delusion had gone forth ; ministers had imposed on the people ; Parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition ; a visionary phantom of revenue had been conjured up for the basest of purposes, but it was now for ever vanished. The motion was rejected by a majority of 40 to 19, on the ground that the intelligence, though it could scarcely be doubted, had not been officially received, and that, if true, General Burgoyne might be daily expected home, when his own explanation would throw more light on the subject than any papers that could be furnished. Lord Chatham immediately moved for an address to obtain copies of all the orders or treaties relative to the employment of Indian savages, and of the instructions given by General Burgoyne to Colonel St. Leger. The debate was conducted with unusual acrimony ; Lord Gower accused the mover of incon-

sistency in reprobating measures which he had himself sanctioned in the last reign, on which Lord Chatham reproached him with petulance and misrepresentation. Indians, he confessed, had crept into the service during the last war; but their employment had never been sanctioned by him in his official capacity; the remark was therefore a mere quibble, and came, he added, with a bad grace from one, who, at the time of the transaction alluded to, was immersed in pleasure, and indulging in all the variety of youthful dissipation. Lord Gower warmly retorted these unwarrantable liberties of speech; he had not, he said, been petulant, though others may have been insolent. The noble earl's insinuations were equally illiberal, unmanly, and untrue. The question was, Were Indians employed while he was minister? and did he mean to plead ignorance as an apology for a conduct which he had so highly condemned? He repeated that the noble earl himself, while at the head of administration last war, employed the Indians under instructions and treaties of the most sanguinary tendency; and, in order to show that this assertion was not made for the purpose of temporary delusion, an extract was read from a treaty, made while Mr. Pitt was secretary of state, with an Indian nation, one condition of which was, that they should kill and scalp every Frenchman who came within their country. Lord Chatham, evidently confused, denied that he knew any thing of the matter, and called upon the noble lord who at that time commanded in America to declare the truth. Lord Amherst reluctantly owned, that Indians had been employed on both sides; but asserted that the French employed them first, and that we only followed the example. His lordship added that he certainly should not have ventured to do so, if he had not received orders to that purpose; that he

was desired to make treaties with the Indian powers, and was charged with it in his instructions ; a copy of which he should at any time be ready to produce, with his Majesty's permission. The Earl of Denbigh called Lord Chatham the great oracle with the short memory, asserting, that the returns of the army must have shown that the Indians were employed last war ; and that, as his lordship when in office, always contended for guidance and direction, he could not be ignorant of the matter, if he had not lost his memory. Lord Shelburne suggested, that the orders sent at that time to the commander in America might have proceeded from the board of trade. Lord Chatham said he was sure they had not passed regularly through his office, and that his late Majesty had too much humanity to give his formal sanction to such a satanic measure, but Lord Suffolk observed that all instructions to governors and commanders in chief necessarily came through the office of secretary of state, and were countersigned by the King. The Earl of Dunmore, late governor of Virginia, declared that the Americans had first employed the savages ; that he himself had been attacked by a party of Indians set on by them ; and that, at the very beginning of the disturbances, the Virginians had used every effort to induce the savages to join them, but that the chiefs of one of the tribes made this answer to their application. " What ! shall we fight against the great King over the water, who in the last war sent such large armies, and so much money here, to defend you from the devastations of the French, and from our attacks ? No : if you have so little gratitude ; we will not assist so base a purpose." His lordship added, that the Virginians, finding themselves thus disappointed, had dressed up some of their own people like Indians with a view to terrify the forces under his command. Lord

Chatham's motion was thrown out by the previous question, the majority being 40 to 18.

On the 10th of December, the royal assent was given to the *habeas corpus* suspension bill, and to the land and malt tax bills; and as the establishments both of the navy and army for the ensuing year were settled by grants for maintaining 60,000 seamen and 20,000 land forces, besides foreign auxiliaries, and no business of immediate exigency remained for the consideration of Parliament, an early recess was determined upon, to afford time for a due preparation for those inquiries which had been agreed to by the servants of the crown in both Houses. It is also probable that the ministry wanted some leisure to deliberate upon and concert the most effectual means of supplying the place of Burgoyne's unfortunate army, and filling up the chasms which death, sickness, or desertion, had made in the remaining force in America. On the day, therefore, that the above bills were passed, and as soon as one of Wilkes's ill-supported motions for the repeal of the declaratory law was disposed of by a majority of 160 to 12, Lord Beauchamp moved for an adjournment of the Commons to the 20th of January. A recess of six weeks, in so critical a situation, was strongly opposed, but the adjournment was carried by 155 against 68. Next day a similar motion, in the House of Lords, was no less strenuously contested. Lord Chatham declared that it was with grief and astonishment he heard a proposal so extraordinary at a crisis so urgent; when, he would be bold to say, events of a most alarming tendency, little expected or foreseen, would shortly happen. The adjournment was, however, supported, on a division, by 47 against 17.

The predictions of ministers, on receiving the mortifying intelligence of General Burgoyne's surrender, that the public spirit would soon find a re-

medy, were speedily verified, offers being shortly after made to government, by several persons of rank and influence, to raise regiments by subscription, suggesting that these new levies would soon be adequate to all the purposes of home-defence, and would leave administration at full liberty to send out the old battalions from Great Britain and Ireland to prosecute the war in America with vigour. Manchester and Liverpool took the lead in this business, each raising a regiment of 1000 men; and the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, following the example, contributed two regiments; several individuals undertook the raising of regiments in the Highlands; and many independent companies were levied with alacrity in Wales. The corporations of London and Bristol refused to co-operate in these efforts, but large sums were subscribed by individuals in various parts, and 15,000 soldiers were, by private bounty, presented to the state. The first business of importance after the recess was a motion for an account of the number of men raised, and the names of the commanding officers. The raising a body of forces, without the knowledge or advice of Parliament, was reprobated as alarming and unconstitutional, but the ministry defended the perfect innocence of the measure with respect both to constitution and law, and contended that the American war was just and popular. The motion was granted. This subject was frequently renewed in both Houses, but the opposition failed in all their attempts to get some censure passed on the measure. A motion in the committee of supply for the sum of 286,632*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* for clothing the new troops was very strongly opposed, the minority being 130 against 223 who supported it.

Mr. Fox opened the inquiry into the state of the nation in a committee of the House of Commons on the 2d of February. He entered into a long re-

view of the measures which led to the war, and of the manner in which it had been conducted, and argued, that it was impossible for any country to fall within so few years from the high pitch of power and glory which we had done, without some radical error in its government; that at a time when we were in immediate danger of encountering the whole force of the house of Bourbon, united with that of America, the army in England and Ireland had been so reduced, by the continual drain of the war, as to fall several thousand men short of the usual peace establishment; and that to abandon the ministerial plan of conquest was a matter not of choice but necessity. He therefore moved a resolution that no part of the national force in these kingdoms, or in the garrisons of Gibraltar or Minorca, should be sent to America. No debate ensued, nor was any reply whatever made to this speech; but the question being called for, the motion was rejected on a division by a majority of 259 to 165. A motion nearly to the same purport, and made on the same day in a similar committee of the whole House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond, was rejected, after some debate, by a majority of about three to one.

In a few days after this Mr. Burke moved for papers relative to the employment of the Indians. The Indian mode of making war, he said, far exceeded the ferocity of any other barbarians recorded in ancient or modern history, their chief glory consisting in the number of human scalps which they acquired, and their chief delight in the practice of torturing, mangling, roasting, and devouring their captives. The attempt to prevent these enormities was unavailing; the Indians employed both by General Burgoyne and Colonel St. Leger had indiscriminately murdered men, women, and children—friends and foes—armed or unarmed, without dis-

inction. He painted in strong colours the horrid murder of Miss Macrea on the morning of her intended marriage with an officer of the King's troops, and the massacre, in cold blood, of the prisoners taken in an engagement near Fort Stanwix. After a long debate the motion was negatived by a majority of 223 against 137.

On the 17th of February Lord North, having given notice that he had digested a plan of conciliation, moved for leave to bring in two bills : one for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the colonies and plantations in North America ; the other, to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies in America. In opening his plan, Lord North acknowledged, that he had always known that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue—that it was not his policy to tax them, but that he had found them taxed when he unfortunately came into administration—and that he could not possibly suspect the regulations he had introduced in relation to the tea duty could have been productive of such fatal consequences. With respect to the coercive acts, they had appeared necessary to remedy the distempers of the time ; the events of the war had turned out very differently from what he had a right to expect from the great and well appointed force sent over ; but to events, and not expectations, he must make his plan conform. The appointment of five commissioners was in contemplation, who should be enabled to treat with the congress as if it were a legal body, or with any individuals in their present civil capacities, or military commands ;—that they should have a power to order a suspension of arms, to suspend the operations of all laws, and to

grant all sorts of pardons. A preliminary renunciation of independency would not be required of America, and a contribution in any shape from America was not to be insisted upon as a *sine qua non* of the treaty. These concessions were founded on reason and propriety ; and if the question were asked, Why they had not been sooner proposed ? he should reply, That the moment of victory, for which he had anxiously waited, seemed to him the only proper season for offering terms of concession. But though the result of the war had proved unfavourable, he would no longer delay the desirable and necessary work of reconciliation. These propositions were assailed from all quarters. The Tory party lamented the degradation which the bills would bring upon the government of this country ; insisted that our resources were great and inexhaustible ; and bitterly deplored that pusillanimity in our councils, which, after so great an expense of blood and treasure, could submit, not only to give up all the objects of the contest, but to enter into a public treaty with armed rebels, which, after all, would not produce the end proposed. The opposition members expressed their reluctant agreement in the probable truth of this prediction ; but they would not, they said, impede or delay the execution of a plan which had conciliation for its object. Mr. Fox asked, What censure would be found sufficient on those ministers who had adjourned Parliament, in order to make a proposition of conciliation, and then neglected to do it until France had concluded a treaty with the United and Independent States of America, and acknowledged them as such ? He did not speak from surmise, he had it from authority he could not question, that the treaty he mentioned had been signed in Paris ten days before ; he therefore wished that the noble lord would give the House satisfaction on that interesting point. Lord

North reluctantly acknowledged that it was but too probable that such a treaty was in agitation, though he had no authority to pronounce absolutely that it was concluded.

At the opening of the budget, a few days after, the minister resumed a tone of confidence, and descanted on the strength, wealth, and stability of the country, though he confessed that he had been obliged to borrow money on disadvantageous terms; he, however, looked forward with rapture to the accessions which the sinking fund would receive from the gradual extinction of exchequer annuities. The votes of supply for the current year, amounting to about 13,000,000*l.* rendered it necessary to raise 6,000,000*l.* by way of loan, each subscriber of 100*l.* to have an annuity of three *per cent.* redeemable by Parliament, besides a farther annuity of two and a half *per cent.* for thirty years, and four lottery tickets, at 10*l.* each, for every 500*l.* subscribed. To pay the interest of this loan, the minister proposed a tax upon houses, to be regulated by the rent, those under 5*l.* a year being exempted, but from 5*l.* to 50*l.* to be rated at 6*d.* in the pound, and from 50*l.* and upwards at 1*s.* to be paid by the occupier: and an additional duty of eight guineas per tun on all French wines imported, and four guineas per tun on all other foreign wine. The new house tax gave rise to a warm debate: the gentlemen in opposition asserted that it was not only a land tax in effect, but that it would also be found exceedingly grievous and disproportionate; tradesmen of every denomination were obliged to take houses commodiously situated, however high the rent might be: hence it was evident that the heaviest burdens would often be imposed on those who were least able to bear the pressure. The resolutions were, however, agreed to, when Mr. Gilbert, who was himself in office, and closely connected with one branch of

ministry, moved, that, in the present exigency of affairs, a tax of 5s. in the pound be laid on all salaries and pensions issuing out of the exchequer, with a few exceptions, during the continuance of the war. The motion was carried in the committee, on the 9th of March, by 100 against 82 voices ; but on the report, next day, it was rejected by a majority of six, the numbers being 147 to 141.

Notwithstanding the assurances of friendship for Great Britain which had been invariably held forth by France and Spain, those powers had, for some time, been objects of just suspicion, supplies of money, arms, and ammunition, being clandestinely conveyed beyond the Atlantic, while their ports displayed the bustle of hostile preparation. The British ministry were very reluctantly persuaded that powers who had foreign settlements of their own would, by becoming the abettors of colonial independency, set an example which might easily be directed against themselves : the intimation of Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, on the 17th of February, was, however, too well founded, two treaties, one of commerce, and another of defensive alliance, having been signed at Paris on the 6th of that month, by the Chevalier Gerard, in behalf of the French King, and by Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, on the part of the United States. The first, as its title imports, regulated the commerce to be carried on between France and America ; and the other was intended to secure the sovereignty and independence of the revolted colonies. The nature of these engagements having been formally notified to the court of Great Britain on the 13th of March, a message was sent by the King to both Houses of Parliament on the 17th, to inform them that a rescript had been delivered by the French ambassador, containing a direct avowal of a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance, re-

cently concluded with America ; in consequence of which offensive communication on the part of the court of France, his Majesty had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court ; and, relying on the zealous support of his people, was prepared to exert all the force and resources of his kingdoms, to repel so unprovoked and unjust an aggression. The note of the French ambassador was conceived in terms of irony and derision. “The United States of North America,” it said, “who were in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having proposed to the King to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connexion begun to be established between the two nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce. The French King being determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity and the good of his subjects, makes this proceeding known to the court of London, and declares that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation ; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity. In making this communication to the court of London, the King is firmly persuaded it will find new proofs of his Majesty’s constant and sincere disposition for peace ; and that his Britannic Majesty, animated by the same sentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may alter their good harmony ; and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between his Majesty’s subjects and the United States of North America from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be, in this respect, observed ;

and all those rules which can be said to subsist between the two crowns of France and Great Britain. In this just confidence, the undersigned ambassador thinks it superfluous to acquaint the British minister that the King his master, being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, has taken eventual methods, in concert with the United States of North America. Signed, Le M. de Noailles."

Addresses to the King, in consequence of his message, were voted by both Houses, expressing in warm terms their indignation at the conduct of France,—at the enterprises of that restless and dangerous spirit of ambition and aggrandizement, which had so often invaded the rights and threatened the liberties of Europe: they gave his Majesty the strongest assurances of their most zealous assistance and support; and declared their firm confidence that no considerations would divert or deter his faithful subjects from standing forth in the public defence, and from sustaining, with a steady perseverance, any extraordinary burdens and expenses which should be found necessary. Amendments were proposed in both Houses, praying the dismissal of ministers, which were rejected by large majorities.

At this crisis it became an object of the first importance to draw as tight as possible the bands of union between the loyal parts of the empire, and the situation of the Irish in particular seemed to require immediate regard, the sister kingdom having been too long subjected to oppressive and unnatural restrictions. Deprived of every incentive to industry, and shut out from every passage to wealth, she had never been clamorous or importunate in her complaints: she had gone the most forward lengths in serving the interests, and in defending the rights,

of Great Britain : she had assisted in conquests from which she was to gain no advantage ; and had omitted no opportunity of proving her attachment and loyalty. Commercial bondage having hitherto been her only reward, a revision of the Irish trade laws was proposed by Lord Nugent, and, being entered into with great cordiality by the principal members of the opposition, the following resolutions were agreed to in a committee of the whole House of Commons.—1st, that the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the British plantations, or to the settlements on the coast of Africa, all goods, wares, and merchandise, being the produce or manufacture of that kingdom, or of Great Britain, wool and woollens only excepted ; as also foreign certificate goods legally imported : 2d, that a direct importation into Ireland be allowed of all goods, wares, and merchandise, being the produce of the British plantations, tobacco only excepted : 3d, that the direct exportation of glass, manufactured in Ireland, be permitted to all places except Great Britain : 4th, that the importation of cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be allowed, duty free, into Great Britain ; as also, 5th, the importation of Irish sail-cloth and cordage. The bills founded on these resolutions excited a great alarm amongst the commercial part of the British nation, who seemed to consider the admittance of Ireland to any participation in trade as destructive to their property and subversive of their rights. The Easter recess afforded time for preparing petitions against the bills, which soon poured in from every quarter ; and it deserves mention, as an instance of mercantile prejudice, that, in several of them, the importation of Irish sail-cloth and of wrought iron was particularly specified as ruinous to the same manufactures in England, though it appeared, upon inquiry, that Ireland had long possessed those very

privileges under the sanction of a positive law, but was so incapable of prosecuting such manufactures to any purpose of competition, that great quantities of both were annually exported to that country from England. Hence it might be fairly inferred that many of the other matters of apprehension were equally groundless, and suggested only by a jealous spirit of exclusion; the representations of the petitioners, however, had such influence on the disposition of the House, that some openings in the African and West-India trades, and a little enlargement of the freedom of exportation in a few other trifling articles, were the only concessions now obtained for Ireland; so that the measure could only be considered as an earnest of good intention, or a proof that the mist of prejudice was at length beginning to disperse.

While the plan for affording some redress to the grievances of the Irish was in agitation, a proscribed class in England, who had been almost forgotten in the patience with which for many years they had endured their sufferings, were also destined to experience the happy effects of a more liberal policy. On the 14th of May, Sir George Saville moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties imposed by an act of the 10th and 11th of William the Third, entitled An Act for preventing the farther Growth of Popery; which penalties the mover stated to be, the punishment of Popish priests or jesuits, as guilty of felony, who should be found to officiate in the services of their church; the forfeiture of estate to the next Protestant heir, in case of the education of the Romish possessor abroad; the power given to the son, or other nearest relation, being a Protestant, to take possession of the father's estate during the lifetime of the proprietor; and the depriving Papists of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchase.

One of his principal views in proposing this repeal was, he said, to vindicate the honour and to assert the principles of the Protestant religion, to which all persecution was, or ought to be, wholly adverse. Sir George was ably seconded by Mr. Dunning, who went into a masterly discussion of the principle, objects, and past operation of the act which was intended to be repealed. The penalties in question were disgraceful, he said, not only to religion, but to humanity. They were calculated to loosen all the bonds of society,—to dissolve all social, moral, and religious obligations and duties,—to poison the sources of domestic felicity,—and to annihilate every principle of honour. The bill passed through the Commons without a single negative, and was but slightly opposed in the Upper House.

The committee on the state of the nation closed in the House of Lords on the 7th of April, when the Duke of Richmond moved for an address to the King, urging the necessity of instantly withdrawing his fleets and armies from the thirteen revolted provinces, and of dismissing his ministers, as the authors of every public calamity and disgrace. To secure the dependence of America was now, he said, impracticable: the sooner, therefore, we relinquished the claim, the better able we should be to save the remains of the empire from impending destruction. Lord Weymouth made an animated reply; but its spirit was soon lost in the sudden blaze of the Earl of Chatham's expiring genius. His extreme bodily weakness rendered it necessary for him to be supported on each side in going from his carriage into the House, and the peers of all parties paid a voluntary tribute of respect by standing while he passed to his place. He appeared pale and emaciated, but his eye retained all its native fire. It was "an eye, like Jove's, to threaten or com-

mand!" He delivered his speech with extraordinary energy, and was heard with marked attention. Taking one hand from his crutch, he raised it, and, casting his eyes towards Heaven, said, "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind.—I am old and infirm—have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave. I am risen from my bed to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House—to express my indignation at the pusillanimous, the disgraceful idea of yielding up the sovereignty of America. I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but while I have sense and memory I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick—the heirs of the Princess Sophia—of their fairest inheritance, and to tarnish the lustre of the nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and possessions. It is said we ought to make peace with America on any terms, and bring home our troops in order to protect ourselves; in short, that we should allow a foreign ambassador insolently to tell *us* that *his* master had made a bargain for that commerce which was *our* natural right, and entered into a treaty with *our own* subjects, without so much as resenting it. Merciful God! to what a low ebb must this once great empire be now reduced, when any of her senators (pointing to the Duke of Richmond) can raise up his head, and with a grave face openly hold forth such timid, such dastardly counsels? This was never the language of Britain, and never shall be mine. What! can it be possible that we are the same people, who about sixteen years

ago were the envy and admiration of all the world? Is not this England? Is not this the senate of Great Britain? And can we forget that we are Englishmen? Can we have forgotten that the nation has stood the Danish irruptions—the Scotch inroads—the Norman conquests—the Spanish armada—and the various efforts of the Bourbon compacts? Of what, then, are we afraid? Why are we blinded by despair? Why should we sit down in ignominious tameness; and, with a desponding face, say to France, ‘Take from us what you will; take all we have; but do, pray, let us live and die in peace.’—Shame upon such disgraceful, such pitiful counsels! My God! how are we altered! What can have occasioned so sudden an alteration? Is the King still the same? I hope he is; but I fear there is something in the dark, something rotten near him; something lurking between him and his people, which has thus dismembered his empire, and tarnished his glory. But I trust that we still have resources, still have courage to punish the perfidy of France. Why, then, should we now give up all? and that too without a blow; without an attempt to resent the insults offered to us? If France and Spain are for war, why not try an issue with them? For, I again say, if we should fall in the attempt, let us fall decently; and if we cannot live with honour, let us die like men. Heaven forbid that we should be permitted to live one day for the purpose of making scourges for our own backs! At present I cannot point out the means for carrying on the war; but the internal resources of the kingdom are great, and I do deny that your lordships have any right to vote away the inheritance of thirteen American provinces from the royal family. Feeble and shattered as I am, yet so long as I have strength to raise myself on my crutches, so long as I can lift my hand, or utter a syllable, I will vote against the giving up

the dependence of America on the sovereignty of Great Britain. Even if I should stand single, I will, to the last moment of my existence, vote against a measure so dishonourable to my country. If my health would permit, I could speak for ever on this subject. The good of the nation is my sole ambition; and although I do earnestly pray for an honourable peace, yet I hope never to see such disgrace brought upon the kingdom as must arise from a peace produced by pusillanimous counsels, which any peace with America as independent states must be. I feel my mind agitated at the thoughts of it. My soul revolts. It spurns at the idea of American independency; and therefore I will, on every occasion, give it a negative."—Here his lordship's speech was cut short by extreme weakness. The Duke of Richmond, in reply, declared himself totally ignorant of the means by which we were to resist with success the combination of America with the house of Bourbon. He urged the noble lord to point out any possible mode, if he were able to do it, of making the Americans renounce that independence of which they were in possession. His grace added, that if HE could not, no man could, and that it was not in his power to change his opinion on the noble lord's authority, unsupported by any reasons, but a recital of the calamities arising from a state of things not in the power of this country now to alter. Lord Chatham, who had appeared greatly moved during the reply, made an eager effort to rise at the conclusion of it, as if labouring with some great idea, and impatient to give full scope to his feelings; but before he could utter a word, pressing his hand on his bosom, he fell down suddenly in a convulsive fit. The Duke of Cumberland, Lord Temple, and other lords near him, caught him in their arms, and helped to remove him into the Prince's Chamber. Medical

assistance being instantly obtained, his lordship in some degree recovered, and was conveyed to his favourite villa at Hayes in Kent. As soon as the confusion occasioned by this melancholy incident subsided, the Duke of Richmond proposed to adjourn the business to the following day, which was complied with. The resumed debate served only to bring into fuller view the difference of opinion between the Rockingham and Chatham parties on the subject of American independence, the former contending for its recognition without delay or reserve, and the latter deprecating such a measure as the greatest of all political and national evils. The duke's motion for an address was rejected by a majority of 50 to 33.

The first appearances of Lord Chatham's recovery were soon found to be delusive. After lingering a few weeks he expired, May the 11th, in the 70th year of his age. The House of Commons, on receiving intelligence of this event unanimously agreed to a motion made by Colonel Barre, for interring the remains of the deceased earl at the public expense, with the farther addition, proposed by Mr. Rigby, that a monument should be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Two days after, the like unanimity prevailed, on a motion for addressing the King, to make a permanent provision for the late earl's family, in consideration of his public services, and a clear annuity of 4000*l.* payable out of the civil list, was annexed to the earldom of Chatham, while it continued in the heirs of the deceased statesman; the sum of 20,000*l.* was also voted for the discharge of his debts and encumbrances. These propositions were not carried through the House of Lords with the same unanimity. A motion being made by the Earl of Shelburne, on the 13th of May, that the House should attend the funeral of the late earl, it was directly

opposed; and the members being found equal upon a division, amounting to 16 on each side, the proxies were called for, when the motion was lost by a majority of 1, there being 20 against 19 who supported the question. The bill for settling an annuity on the inheritors of the title of Chatham, met also with a very strenuous opposition at its second reading; the Duke of Chandos, Lord Bathurst the chancellor, and a few others, objecting to it as an unwarrantable lavishing away of the public money, at a time when the nation was groaning under a heavy load of debt, and engaged in a dangerous and expensive war. They farther expressed their fears, that a precedent of this kind might afterwards be made use of for factious purposes, and to the enriching of private families at the public expense. Their objections, however, were overruled by a majority of 42 to 11.

The decease of this illustrious person calls for a few remarks on his character and abilities. Nothing less than the fanaticism of party could hold him up as a patriot of the purest and most unyielding integrity. Ambition was his ruling passion, and in seeking to gratify it, we must own that he sometimes at least employed the means which other courtiers have done, and even sacrificed his private judgment to his advancement. No man, while out of office, ever opposed continental and German connexions with more force of argument, with more depth of political sagacity, than he did; no man, when called to a situation under a sovereign with whom those connexions were a darling object, ever more ingeniously defended them. Without, however, claiming for this consummate statesman the envied and almost unattainable character of unsullied integrity, his conduct in administration evinced that great talents will, in that high situation, generally prove even a substitute for virtue; and that a *wise* minister will feel

that he never can have a separate interest from the people whose councils he directs. Yet, as a minister, it must be allowed that Lord Chatham had one failing. Formed by nature for the most active and tempestuous scenes, he was too fond of war. As an orator he stands almost unrivalled in this country. In fire and energy he equalled Demosthenes; in a vivid fancy, and a promptness of idea, he exceeded him. The best speakers of the time shrunk before the force of his eloquence. Lord Mansfield trembled at it; and even the vigour of Lord Holland was inadequate to the contest. In private life the talents of Lord Chatham were alloyed by a mixture of pride and reserve; but it was pride united with dignity. He was not selfish, but rather too inattentive to his private affairs. He was the man of the public; and though he had certainly equal means with other ministers of amassing wealth, he chose rather to leave his family dependant on the bounty of that country which he had served, than to enrich them by its plunder. His political system was that of a staunch Whig; and though he sometimes conceded to the wishes of the court, as he evidently did with respect to the German connexions, which he described emphatically as “a millstone tied about his neck,” yet his enemies cannot charge him with ever having made a sacrifice of any great constitutional principle.

The disputes relative to the northern expedition were revived on the arrival of General Burgoyne, who returned to England on his parole; he experienced a cold and indifferent reception from ministers, and was refused admission to the royal presence. Highly resenting this treatment, he avenged himself by loud complaints of the misconduct of ministers; a mode of retaliation which contributed little to raise his character in the estimation of the public. He was subsequently ordered to rejoin his

troops in America, whom the congress refused to release till the convention of Saratoga should be formally ratified. With this injunction he refused to comply; and he was therefore divested of all his posts and offices.

Towards the close of the session, the state and management of the navy was a subject of much warm discussion in both Houses, and various inquiries were moved and negatived. A message for a vote of credit excited many severe strictures on the conduct of ministers. A bill introduced by Sir P. J. Clerke, for restraining any member of the House of Commons from being concerned in any government contract, was carried through a first and second reading, and finally lost by a majority of only 2, the numbers being 115 against 113.

Notwithstanding the length and activity of the session, motions were made in both Houses to prevent the adjournment, which being rejected, the prorogation took place on the 3rd of June with a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty's desire to preserve the tranquillity of Europe was stated to have been uniform and sincere; he had made the faith of treaties and the law of nations the rule of his conduct; and that power by whom tranquillity should be disturbed, must answer to their subjects, and to the world, for all the fatal consequences of war; he trusted, that the experienced valour and discipline of the fleets and armies, with the loyal and united ardour of the nation, armed and animated in defence of every thing dear to them, would be able to defeat all the enterprises which the enemies of the crown might presume to undertake, and convince them how dangerous it was to provoke the spirit and strength of Great Britain. The Commons were thanked for the cheerfulness with which they had granted the supplies for the service of the year, and the

warmest acknowledgments were due, for the provision made for the more honourable support of the royal family.

The last particular referred to a bill passed in the course of the session for settling an annuity of 60,000*l.* on the six younger princes, of 30,000*l.* on the five princesses, and of 12,000*l.* on the son and daughter of the Duke of Gloucester; the annuities to take effect, in the first instance, on the death of his Majesty, and in the second, on the death of the Duke of Gloucester.

On the day his Majesty went to the House of Peers, the late attorney general took his seat by the title of Lord Thurlow, Baron Ashfield; and was presented with the great seal, Earl Bathurst having resigned it. Mr. Wedderburne succeeded his lordship in the office of attorney general, and Mr. Wallace was appointed solicitor general.

CHAPTER XIII.

Review of French politics—Effect of the conciliatory Bills in America—Arrival of Commissioners from England with overtures—Their efforts fruitless—Evacuation of Philadelphia by the British—Action on retreat—Lee suspended—Count D'Estaign appears off Sandy Hook with a French fleet—Foiled by Lord Howe—Various naval encounters—Lord Howe succeeded by Admiral Gambier—Success of the British in various expeditions—War between the Indians and Americans—D'Estaign sails to the West Indies—St. Lucia taken by the British—The French blockaded in Fort Royal by Admiral Byron—Successes against the French in the East Indies—Naval movements in the channel—Dispute between Admirals Keppel and Palliser—Their trial by courts martial—Motions against Lord Sandwich—Finance—Inquiry into Sir William Howe's conduct in America—Bill to relieve Dissenters—Measures for the relief of Ireland rejected—War with Spain—Acts to strengthen the military and naval force—Session closed—Siege of Gibraltar—Loss of Senegal—Attempt on Jersey—Combined French and Spanish fleet in the Channel—French successes in the West Indies—Their repulse at Savannah—Return of D'Estaign to France—Success of various enterprises against the Americans—Indian excesses severely retaliated by General Sullivan—British settlements on the Mississippi taken by the Spaniards—Expedition against Fort Omoa—Changes in the ministry—Meeting of Parliament—Amendment to the address rejected—Concessions to Ireland—Discussions on the expenditure—Commission of accounts—Mr. Burke's plan of economy rejected

—*Dispute between Sir Fletcher Norton and Lord North—Law appointments—Duel between Mr. Fullarton and Lord Shelburne—Increase of the malt and other taxes discussed—Motions to controul the expenditure—Associations against the Papists—Dreadful riots—Trial of Lord George Gordon—Proceedings of Parliament to the close of the session—Naval successes of Sir George Rodney—Charlestown taken by Sir Henry Clinton—Defection of General Arnold—Death of Major André—Victory of Lord Cornwallis in Carolina—Severe losses of English merchantmen taken by the enemy—Armed neutrality—Disputes with Holland—Death of Maria Theresa.*

ON entering upon the history of another war with France, we will endeavour to explain the motives which prompted the cabinet of Versailles to depart from the pacific course it had pursued since the peace of 1763. In the survey of Europe at the close of the war, it was observed, that the internal troubles of that country afforded the best pledges of her external inoffensiveness, it being evident, from the nature of the disputes which then commenced between the King and the Parliaments, that any rash attempt on his part to embroil himself with his neighbours would endanger the overthrow of the French monarchy. These domestic conflicts were kept up with increasing violence till the year 1771, when Louis the Fifteenth had recourse to the desperate expedient of arresting, by virtue of *lettres de cachet*, the members of parliament of Paris, banishing most of the provincial parliaments, and substituting in their room other tribunals entirely devoted to the will of the sovereign. This was the most fatal shock ever given to public opinion in a country where the spirit of liberty began to be widely diffused, and where the

undisguised horrors of despotism could only serve to engender anarchy and sedition. A republican party was visibly forming, and as the monarch became every day an object of greater reproach and execration, it is probable that the small-pox, of which he died in 1774, rescued him from a much worse fate, that of perishing in the ruins of a convulsed empire. The young King, to whom the appellation of "*LOUIS le désiré*" was unanimously given, began his reign with several popular measures; and of these none could be more likely to conciliate and secure the affections of his subjects than the removal of the old ministry, and the restoration of the parliaments. The latter, however, was delayed for several months, and even then accompanied with some ungracious circumstances, a censure for their resistance to the late King's commands, and a peremptory injunction to conform exactly to a royal ordinance, read to them on the occasion, containing many painful, and, as they might suppose, unconstitutional limitations of their authority. It required greater talents than Louis the Sixteenth possessed, and greater integrity and patriotism than prevailed in his council, to unite at this juncture real dignity with judicious condescension, and to establish his throne in the hearts of his people, by showing a more sincere regard for their rights and happiness than for the plenitude of his own power. The same want of wisdom soon appeared in the system of foreign politics adopted by the new administration. The King himself was of a mild and peaceable temper, but his natural indolence, and the mediocrity of his passions, as well as of his abilities, threw the reins of government into other hands; and the prevailing party at court, of whom the Queen was considered as the head, thought the quarrel between England and her colo-

nies a favourable opportunity for striking a decisive blow, and rising upon the ruin of a detested rival. The desire of avenging the disgraces of the last war, and of grasping at the same time the advantages of the American trade, rendered the council blind to the probable consequences of making Frenchmen the champions of colonial independency, of fanning in their breasts the sparks of republican enthusiasm, and of importing with the tobacco of Virginia, which was held out as a great commercial allurements, the weeds of faction and licentiousness. Unchecked by any apprehensions of this kind, the court of France secretly encouraged the Americans in their revolt, and sent them supplies of money, arms, and ammunition; striving, at the same time, to keep up the appearances of neutrality till Great Britain should be more nearly exhausted in the contest; but the disaster which happened to Burgoyne's army, and the conciliatory measures about to be adopted by the British cabinet, obliged the French ministry to throw off the mask sooner than was at first intended. They knew that the Americans, notwithstanding the success at Saratoga, still laboured under great difficulties; and that, for want of internal resources, whilst their foreign trade was nearly annihilated by the British cruisers, it was almost impossible for them, without assistance, to keep a respectable army in the field for any length of time; they therefore feared that, under such unpromising circumstances, they would be induced to accept the very liberal terms which the mother country was going to propose at the present crisis. It was by urging these points very strongly, that Dr. Franklin and his associates accomplished the grand object of their commission at Paris, and procured the signing of the treaties before mentioned, by which France pledged herself

to maintain the absolute independence of a foreign people, while she held, or hoped to hold, her native sons in vassalage and chains.

An event, which took place about the same time on the continent of Europe, is also supposed to have had some share in precipitating those resolutions of the French council. The Elector of Bavaria having died without issue on the 30th of December, 1777, was succeeded by the Elector-palatine; but before the latter could well feel his change of situation, he unexpectedly found that he had a rival of such superior power to encounter, that all competition on his side would be ridiculous. He had scarcely arrived in his new capital at Munich, when an Austrian army, which had been evidently stationed on the frontiers for the purpose, and only waiting for the moment of the Elector's death, poured on all sides into his territories, and left him no alternative but to resign the better half of his new possessions by compromise, or to risk the loss of the whole by a feeble opposition. He therefore gave his involuntary assent to terms prescribed by violence and injustice. As such a flagrant attack could not fail of alarming all the princes of the empire, and of making an appeal to the sword inevitable, there is great reason to suppose that the Queen of France, actuated by the impulses of family pride, as well as of affection for her brother, the Emperor, exerted all her influence over the cabinet of Versailles, to involve the French nation in contentions with some other power, so as to prevent their opposing the schemes of aggrandizement projected by Joseph the Second. The King of Prussia having in vain used every effort to obtain restitution by amicable means, took the field early in the spring. The Emperor seemed equally resolute; and the preparations on both sides were so mighty, that had the fate of Europe depended on

the contest, the force employed was not inadequate to the importance of the stake. Yet so equal was the distribution of strength, numbers, military skill, discipline, and courage between the two parties, that not one considerable action was brought on, though sharp skirmishes were frequent. A kind of languor, if not an actual desire of peace, was the consequence of such a struggle; and the courts of Versailles and Petersburg having exerted themselves to put an end to the dispute, an armistice took place in March, 1789, and a treaty was concluded on the 13th of May, by which the former convention between the Elector-palatine and the court of Vienna was annulled, and Bavaria ceded only the frontier territory appertaining to the regency of Burghausen, which Austria accepted as an equivalent for the formal renunciation of all her old claims.

Immediately on the first reading of the conciliatory bills in the House of Commons, rough drafts of them were sent off to America by Lord North, in the expectation that such overtures from the mother country would, if they arrived in time, prevent congress from ratifying the new engagements entered into by their deputies at the court of France. These papers being circulated among the people by Sir William Howe, provoked the most contemptuous resolutions on the part of congress, who represented the bills as the sequel of an insidious plan formed by the British government for enslaving America. The object of them, they maintained, was to disunite the colonies, create divisions, and prevent foreign powers from interfering in their behalf. They called them an evidence of the weakness, or wickedness of the British government, or both; and finally resolved, that any man, or body of men, who should presume to make a separate agreement with the British commissioners, ought

to be considered as open and avowed enemies ; and that the United States neither could, nor would, hold any conference with such commissioners, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of the United States. They also called upon the several provinces to use the most strenuous exertions, and to have their respective quotas of troops in the field as soon as possible, as, they said, it appeared to be the design of their enemies to lull them into a fatal security,

On the 2d of May, a few days after these resolutions of congress, Mr. Deane arrived from Paris with the French treaties, and a gazette was immediately published, which, besides a summary of the general information, exhibited some of the most flattering articles, with their own comments, extolling in the highest strains of gratitude and admiration, the extraordinary equity, generosity, and honour of the French King ; they seemed to count upon Spain as being already a virtual party to the alliance ; and boasted of the favourable disposition of Europe in general towards America.

Such were the proceedings of congress previous to the arrival of the commissioners from England in the beginning of June. The persons united in this commission were the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, Governor Johnstone, and Sir Henry Clinton, who had lately taken the command of the army, in the room of Sir William Howe. Though the prospect was discouraging, they entered upon the execution of their office with alacrity ; and dispatched a letter with the late acts of Parliament, a copy of their commission, and other papers, to the president of the congress, by the ordinary posts ; their secretary, Dr. Ferguson, who was intended to convey them, and to act as an agent for conducting the negocia-

tion with the congress upon the spot, being refused a passport. After deliberating for some days on the subject of these communications, the congress, through the medium of their president, returned for answer, that the acts of Parliament, the commission, and the commissioners' letter, supposed the people of the American states to be subjects of the King of Great Britain, and were founded on an idea of dependance which was utterly inadmissible: but they were ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, whenever the King of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; the only proof of which would be an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

Before any farther advance towards an accommodation appeared hopeless, Mr. Johnstone, one of the commissioners, having served as a captain in the navy on the American coast, and afterwards been governor of a province there, in consequence of which he had formed an extensive acquaintance in that country, resolved to avail himself of so flattering an introduction, in hopes that it might facilitate the accomplishment of the great object in view. This seemed the more feasible, as his parliamentary conduct since that time had been in direct opposition to all those measures which were deemed hostile or oppressive with regard to the colonies, that it could scarcely fail of greatly increasing any influence which he might then have acquired. Under such circumstances he concluded that a private correspondence would operate more happily in smoothing or removing any difficulties that might arise, than the stiff, tedious, and formal proceedings of public negociation; but he was soon mortified to find that his confidential letters to

several persons of weight and character were laid before congress ; that some passages in them were represented as attempts to corrupt the integrity of that assembly ; and that he was even charged with employing agents to bribe some of the leading members ; which they assigned as a reason for interdicting intercourse with him, especially when, as they said, they were to negotiate upon affairs, in which the cause of liberty and virtue was interested. In his reply, he attributed the aspersions thrown on his character to the malice and treachery of the congress, who designed them only for the purpose of inflaming their constituents to endure all the calamities of war ; but to disappoint their views in this respect, he declared, that he should for the future decline acting as a commissioner, or taking the smallest share in any business, in which the congress should be concerned.

The efforts of the other commissioners proved equally fruitless. After a long controversy with some writers who defended the repulsive proceedings of the congress, and a variety of appeals to the people at large, they announced their intention to return to England, in a sort of farewell manifesto, which was published on the 3d of October, and in which they briefly recapitulated the different steps taken by them to accomplish the object of their commission, and the refusal of congress to listen to the most generous overtures : they reminded the colonies of their solemn appeals to heaven, in the beginning of the contest, that they took arms only for the redress of grievances ; and asked, whether all their grievances, real or supposed, were not fully redressed in the present conciliatory offers : notwithstanding the obstructions they had met with, they were still ready to concur in all satisfactory and just arrangements for the re-establishment of peace ; and to treat with deputies from all

the states collectively, or with any provincial assembly or convention individually, at any time within the space of forty days from the date of their manifesto: they also proclaimed a general pardon to such as should, within the term limited, withdraw from their opposition to the British government; warning the people, at the same time, of the material change which would take place in the nature and conduct of the war, if they should still persevere in their obstinacy, more especially as that was founded on alliance with France. In a counter manifesto, which the congress issued almost a month after, they declared, that if their enemies presumed to execute their threats, they would take such exemplary vengeance as should deter others from a like conduct. All hopes of terminating the troubles by negotiation being at an end, the commissioners took their final leave of America about the end of November, and returned to England with experimental proofs that nothing but superior force could subject the revolted colonies to the authority of the mother country.

From the war of words between the congress and the British commissioners, the transition was very rapid to a war of deeds and arms; but the plan of operations was now materially changed. Through the interference of a hostile maritime power, the command of the sea was about to be disputed by the contending parties; hence great circumspection became necessary in the choice of posts for the British army. As it was uncertain where the French might attempt to strike a blow, whether upon the continent of America, or in the West Indies, it was proper that the army should occupy a station, from which reinforcements might be most easily and expeditiously sent wherever they should be required. Philadelphia was very little adapted to such a purpose, being 100 miles distant from the sea, with

which it communicated only by a winding river. For these reasons, and to guard against the danger of a superior naval force in the Delaware, at a time when a junction was also expected between the troops under Gates and Washington, the Earl of Carlisle had taken out orders with him for the evacuation of Philadelphia, which was effected at three in the morning of the 18th of June, and so judicious was the admiral's arrangement, that the whole army, with its baggage, was passed over the Delaware, and encamped on the Jersey shore by ten in the forenoon, having met with little interruption from the enemy, though the Americans entered Philadelphia before the British entirely left it. Most of the loyalists of that city went along with the army, but those who remained behind were treated with great severity: some were banished; several were thrown into prison; and two suffered death.

The march of the British army through the Jerseys was attended with difficulty. Encumbered with a vast train of baggage, extending the length of twelve miles, the whole country hostile, the bridges broken down, and a vigilant enemy pressing close behind, the utmost prudence and circumspection of General Clinton were necessary, to make a vigorous and effectual defence against those attacks to which a retreating army is so peculiarly exposed. Instead of proceeding in a direct route to Brunswick, the general determined, by bending his march to the right, and approaching the sea-coast, at once to disappoint the expectation of the enemy, and to avoid the difficulty attending the passage of the Rariton. On the evening of the 27th of June, the army encamped in the neighbourhood of Freehold Courthouse, in the county of Monmouth, and resumed their march early the next morning: scarcely, however, were they in motion when the enemy were discovered moving in force at some distance on both

flanks. The first division under General Knyp-
hausen proceeding with the escort of carriages to
the heights of Middle-town, Sir Henry Clinton im-
mediately formed the rest of his troops, with a view
to bring on the general engagement. Lee advanced
with the van of the American army to the attack, in
conformity to the directions of General Washington;
but several of the brigades under his command being
thrown into confusion by an impetuous assault of
the British cavalry, he ordered a retreat, with a view
to form anew in an advantageous position behind a
ravine and morass. In the interim Washington
arrived at the head of the main body, and expressed
in strong terms his astonishment at the retrograde
motion of the van. Lee replied with equal warmth;
but in the result, the troops of the van were ordered
to form in front of the morass, where an obstinate
engagement ensued, till the Americans being again
worsted and broken, Lee was a second time under
the necessity of ordering a retreat, which he con-
ducted with skill and courage, himself being one of
the last who remained on the field. The position
taken by Washington with the main body, rendered
it impossible to attack him in front with any pros-
pect of success; and though his left flank was ac-
tually turned by a British detachment, Sir Henry
Clinton, seeing no likelihood of any decisive advan-
tage, recalled his brave troops, who were pressing
on to the charge, notwithstanding the fatigue they
had already undergone through the heat of the day,
which was so intense, that 59 soldiers dropped dead
without a wound. The whole loss of the British
army amounted to 358 men, including 20 officers,
of whom Lieutenant-colonel Monckton was particu-
larly lamented. In the very heat of the action, and
during the confusion of a dangerous cannonade, his
brave followers dug his grave with their bayonets,
and threw in the earth with their hands. The loss

of the Americans amounted to 361 men, including 32 officers. Sir Henry Clinton having allowed his troops proper time for rest, resumed his march about midnight, joined General Knyphausen, and proceeded without farther molestation to Sandy Hook, where the fleet under Lord Howe had got round to receive them; and the army embarking on the 5th of July, landed the same day at New York.

Lee's haughty spirit could not brook the language which Washington had hastily used during the action, and he wrote him in consequence two passionate letters, which occasioned his being put under immediate arrest. A court martial being held upon him for disobedience of orders, misbehaviour in action, and disrespect to the commander in chief, he was found guilty, and suspended from all military command for twelve months.

Two days after the conveyance of the army, Lord Howe received intelligence by his cruisers, that Count D'Estaing, who had sailed from Toulon in April, was arrived on the coast of Virginia, and on the 11th of July, he appeared off Sandy Hook, with twelve sail of the line and three large frigates; to which Lord Howe could oppose only eleven ships of inferior magnitude and weight of metal, with some frigates and sloops. These being ranged with great skill in the harbour, the count, after remaining at anchor for eleven days, set sail to the southward, as far as the mouth of the Delaware; and then changed his course for Rhode Island, in order to co-operate with General Sullivan in an enterprise against Newport. The approach of the French fleet to this harbour created the unpleasant necessity of burning the *Orpheus*, *Lark*, *Juno*, and *Cerberus* frigates, and of sinking the *Flora* and *Falcon*; but this was the only loss resulting from so formidable an invasion. The commander of the garrison, Sir Robert Pigot, made every preparation for

a vigorous defence; and Lord Howe, to whom he had sent intelligence by a dispatch-boat, being reinforced by some ships from England, part of a squadron under Admiral Byron, immediately stood out to sea, and reached Rhode Island on the 9th of August. After much manœuvring for the weather-gage, the adverse fleets were separated by a storm, which compelled the French admiral to proceed to Boston to refit. This circumstance obliged the American General Sullivan to raise the siege of Newport, which had been commenced under very favourable auspices.

The dispersion of the two fleets occasioned the accidental meeting of single ships, and produced various engagements, which terminated greatly to the honour of British valour and seamanship. In the evening of the 13th of August, Captain Dawson in the *Renown* of 50 guns fell in with the *Langue-doc* of 84 guns, D'Estaign's own ship, which had lost her rudder and masts, and had the prospect of effecting so extraordinary a capture, when the appearance of several other ships of the squadron compelled him to desist: Commodore Hotham, in the *Preston* of 50 guns, fought the *Tonnant* of 80 the same evening with similar success: but the most brilliant of these contests occurred in the afternoon of the 16th, when the *Isis*, a ship also of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Raynor, was chased by the *Cæsar*, a French ship of 74 guns, in no way injured by the storm, and after a desperate conflict, which lasted for an hour and a half, the *Cæsar* sheered off. The *Isis* had sustained so much damage in her masts, sails, and rigging, that she was incapable of pursuing, but in other respects she had been very little injured; only one man was killed, and fifteen wounded: the French ship was so much damaged in her hull, that she was forced to bear away for Boston; and her killed and wounded amounted to

fifty, including in the latter her captain, the celebrated Bougainville, whose arm was shot off in the action. Lord Howe followed his antagonist to Boston, in the hope of a favourable opportunity of attack; but found the French fleet lying in Nantasket Road, so well defended by forts and batteries, that he judged it impracticable, and returned to New York about the middle of September. During his absence six more ships of Admiral Byron's squadron had arrived at that port; and as the British naval force was now unquestionably superior to the fleet under D'Estaing, his lordship thought this a proper moment for availing himself of the leave he had before obtained to retire from the American station, on account of his health, and, resigning the command of the fleet to Admiral Gambier, took his departure for England.

On the first intelligence of the danger that threatened Rhode Island, Sir Henry Clinton embarked with 4000 men for its relief, but being detained for some days by contrary winds in his passage through the Sound, he returned to New York, whence he dispatched Major-general Grey, with the fleet of transports and troops, to exterminate some nests of privateers, which abounded in the rivers and creeks adjoining to Buzzard's Bay, in that part of New England called the Plymouth colony. In less than twenty-four hours they destroyed about seventy sail of shipping, with a great number of small craft, besides the magazines, wharfs, &c. on the Bedford and Fair Haven sides of the Acushinet river. To complete the success of their enterprise, they proceeded to the island called Martha's Vineyard, and there obtained a valuable contribution of 10,000 sheep and 300 oxen for the army at New York.

Another expedition was soon after set on foot against Egg harbour on the Jersey coast, where the enemy had many privateers and prizes, and a con-

siderable number of ships, store-houses, and salt-works were destroyed. During a subsequent delay in Egg harbour, occasioned by contrary winds, a French captain, with some private men, who had deserted from Pulaski's American legion, gave such an account of the careless manner in which three troops of horse and as many companies of infantry belonging to that corps were cantoned, as suggested to Captain Ferguson, the commander of the British detachment, the probability of surprising them. The success of the attempt was answerable to his expectation: the quarters of the enemy were surrounded in the night, and very few escaped. A few days before, a whole regiment of light horse, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Baylor, was surprised in the same manner, in the village of Old Taapan, by Major-general Grey, acting under the direction of Lord Cornwallis, and the greatest part of the Americans fell victims to the carnage incident to the confusion and uncertainty of a nightly attack. This unfortunate regiment had been detached by General Washington to harass the foraging parties of the British army on the banks of the North river; no farther attempt, however, was made to interrupt their operations.

An undertaking of greater importance was now determined upon by Sir Henry Clinton, who detached a considerable body of troops under Colonel Campbell, convoyed by Sir Hyde Parker, to attempt the recovery of the province of Georgia; General Prevost, governor of East Florida, having at the same time orders to co-operate with them. On the 23d of December, the armament arrived at the mouth of the Savannah; and on the 29th, Colonel Campbell attacked the American forces under Major-general Robert Howe, with the most signal success. The capital of Georgia immediately surrendered, and in less than a fortnight, the whole pro-

vince was recovered, with the exception of the town of Sunbury, which soon afterwards surrendered to General Prevost, who took the command of the British forces on his arrival at Savannah.

During these successes on the sea-coast, a desultory war was carried on in some of the interior and back settlements, between the Indians and the colonists, the latter too generally adopting the savage practices of the former. Mutual inroads were made, and waste and cruelty were inflicted and retorted with insatiable revenge. In the course of these barbarous hostilities, too shocking to admit of detail, the beautiful and flourishing new settlement of Wyoming, on the banks of the Susquehanna, fell a sacrifice to an incursion of Indians and American loyalists, headed by Colonel Butler; and the Indian settlements of Unadilla and Anaquago, upon the upper parts of the same river, which were also inhabited by white people attached to the royal cause, were in their turn ravaged and destroyed by the Americans. After a glance at such scenes of horror and disgust, the mind feels a sort of relief even in tracing the lamentable effects of civilized warfare.

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as they had cleared each other, and the firing had ceased, the British admiral wore his ship to return upon the enemy, and threw out a signal for the rest of the fleet to form the line; but observing that some of his ships, disabled in the engagement, had fallen to leeward, and were in danger of being cut off by the enemy, he was in the first place obliged to take measures for their safety. By the manœuvres necessary for this purpose, and by the length of time required for repairing the damages sustained by the ships of the rear division under Sir Hugh Palliser, the day was so far spent before they could be again brought into their stations in the line, that nothing now remained but the expectation of the commander in chief, “that the French would fight it out handsomely next day.” D’Orvilliers put on every appearance of intending to do so; but in the night he quitted his station, and steered for the coast of France, leaving three frigates with lights, to deceive the English admiral. In the morning the rearmost of his ships were scarcely discernible; and as their inferiority had been fully demonstrated, both in the action and by their flight, it was matter of sincere regret that the attack had not been renewed the preceding evening. A pursuit being deemed useless, Admiral Keppel returned to Plymouth to refit, and then resuming his former station, kept the sea as long as the approaching winter would allow. The French fleet, being also refitted, ventured out of Brest; but instead of directing their course where they were sure of encountering an enemy, they made their way to the southward, where they were as certain of meeting none, and where their cruise could answer no other purpose than that of parade.

The engagement of the 27th of July, though not altogether “a proud day to England,” impressed upon the French such a consciousness of their ine-

quality to a renewal of the contest, that they avoided it by loitering about Cape Finisterre, and abandoning their own coasts and the bay to the British fleet; by which means the trade to England arrived in security from the different quarters of the world, whilst the French commerce became a prey to the English cruisers. But these advantages, however substantial, could not satisfy the public for the neglect of what they thought a favourable opportunity of terminating the war by a single blow. The failure of a complete victory was by some attributed to the commander in chief for not pushing his success, and by others to Sir Hugh Palliser for not obeying with all possible promptitude the signals of his superior officer, preparatory to a second attack. Some severe strictures on the vice-admiral's disregard of orders having appeared in the public prints, he wrote to Admiral Keppel, requiring from him an express contradiction of such foul aspersions. With this request the admiral refused to comply; upon which Sir Hugh Palliser published in one of the morning papers a statement of particulars relating to the action, with an introductory letter, containing much implied censure on the commander in chief. The latter immediately acquainted the first lord of the admiralty, that he could never sail, or act in conjunction with the vice-admiral of the blue, until matters were thoroughly explained by that officer. The dispute was inflamed by the indiscreet zeal of the partisans on both sides. It was taken up with great warmth in the House of Lords on the very first day of the session, (November the 25th,) and afterwards discussed in the House of Commons with still greater vehemence, both the admiral and vice-admiral being present, and taking a share in the debates, when the latter declared, that, finding he could not obtain justice by any personal application, and that no public motives

could induce the admiral to bring forward any charge against him, which might afford an opportunity for the vindication of his character, he had been driven by necessity, (not having a right to demand a trial on himself) in order to repair the injury done to his honour, to lay several articles of accusation against Admiral Keppel, tending to show, as he would hereafter demonstrate, that the failure of success on the 27th of July was owing to the misconduct and fault of that commander.

A court martial being ordered by the lords of the admiralty, the trial commenced at Portsmouth on the 7th of January, 1779, and was not closed till the 11th of the next month. The result was very flattering to the commander in chief: he was not only acquitted, but the charges against him were declared to be malicious and ill-founded. The acquittal was celebrated in London for two nights successively, with the usual testimonies of popular joy, but was also disgraced by the usual ebullitions of popular outrage. The iron gates and pallisades of the admiralty were but a weak fence against the fury of the mob; and the houses of Sir Hugh Palliser, of Lord Sandwich, and of several others; were threatened to be demolished, until troops were brought forward to their protection. Admiral Keppel's friends were not less active to obtain for him some tribute of parliamentary applause, and the thanks of both Houses were voted to him for his conduct. Sir Hugh Palliser afterwards obtained a court martial on himself, and with due magnanimity resigned his place at the admiralty board, his lieutenant-generalship of marines, and his government of Scarborough Castle, besides vacating his seat in the House of Commons. The court martial, after sitting twenty-one days, acquitted him, but not without a slight censure. The

want of temper and policy appears to have been his greatest crime. His signal bravery during the action on the 27th of July was acknowledged by his enemies; and if he was really blameable for a voluntary neglect of signals and contempt of orders after the action, the commander in chief cannot well escape some censure for not enforcing obedience, when he knew the honour and interest of his country to be at stake.

After the Christmas recess, Mr. Fox moved a vote of censure upon Lord Sandwich, "for sending Admiral Keppel, with twenty ships of the line only, to a station off the coast of France, thereby hazarding the safety of the kingdom, the Brest fleet consisting at that time of thirty-two ships of the line, besides a great superiority of frigates." The motion was negatived by a majority of only 204 against 170. Mr. Fox then moved, "that the state of the navy at the breaking out of the present war was inadequate to the exigencies of the service." In the course of the debate upon this motion, Lord Howe declared his resolution to decline all future service so long as the present ministers continued in office. On this occasion, the previous question was moved, and carried, by 246 against 174.

Mr. Fox, after the Easter recess, made his promised motion for the dismissal of Lord Sandwich from his Majesty's presence and councils for ever. The insufficiency of Admiral Keppel's squadron, the coolness shown to that officer, and the duplicity of ministers towards him on every occasion, were unsparingly advanced, but no new fact or argument was adduced; and the motion was rejected by 221 against 118. A similar motion made in the House of Lords, by the Earl of Bristol, shared the same fate. Although the manner in which these and similar motions were repeated displayed more party

zeal than real patriotism, they were supported in a manner which proved that the ministry was at this time far from popular.

At the opening of the budget, Lord North stated the deficiency in last year's taxes, the increase of the national expenditure, the difficulty he had experienced in negotiating a loan, and the distant prospect of a peace. The first evil, he said, arose from the operation of the servants' tax having been postponed, and from the underrating of the houses, and other errors in that plan of assessment. The increase of expenses could not be avoided, without relaxing our exertions when they ought to be most vigorous. The estimate of those expenses for the present year amounted to somewhat more than 15,000,000*l.* The provisions consisted of 2,700,000*l.* land and malt tax; 2,000,000*l.* sinking fund; 1,500,000*l.* exchequer bills; vote of credit for 1,000,000*l.*; about 1,200,000*l.* negotiable securities; and a new loan of 7,000,000*l.* to be raised by annuities in the three per cent. consolidated funds, besides a farther annuity of 3*l.* 15*s.* *per cent.* to cease at the expiration of twenty-nine years, and a douceur of seven lottery tickets at 10*l.* each to every subscriber of 1000*l.* The interest of the new loan was to be paid by an additional duty of five *per cent.* on the full produce of the excise and customs, beer and ale, soap, candles, and hides excepted; by a tax of one penny per mile on every post horse; and by an additional duty of five *per cent.* on cambric. Though the terms of the loan were hard, the public would be relieved from the most oppressive part of the burden in twenty-nine years; and an open subscription was too hazardous an experiment in the midst of a war, when great sums were to be borrowed, and a great deal of unfounded debt was floating. As to the probable continuance of the war, his lordship said there ap-

peared only three events which could render peace desirable. These were the return of America to her former state of obedience; the relinquishing her connexion with France; or France relaxing in her demands. The two former no man was at liberty to pronounce upon, and the latter there was little likelihood of at present. In such a state of affairs the prospect of peace was at a considerable distance; and though he did not doubt but money could be had in the usual manner, he thought it would not be unworthy that House and the nation at large to turn their thoughts to some mode of raising the supplies within the year, on account as well of the present as future advantages that must result, in a variety of instances, from the adoption of such a plan. Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke exerted all their well-known powers, the one in exposing what he called the futility of Lord North's remarks, and the other in descanting on his lordship's insolence; the committee, however, agreed to the proposed resolutions.

The ill success of the principal military operations in America having caused much public dissatisfaction, and blame having been imputed either to the commanders or the ministry, as party feelings suggested, Sir William Howe brought the matter before Parliament, alleging that he had not the cordial confidence and support of ministry; that the orders they had sent him were never clear, but ambiguous, and such as might be easily explained away in case of any adverse accident; and that they had concealed the true state of affairs in America, promising success when they knew there was no reason to expect it. In reply to these charges, the exertions of the minister for the American department were recapitulated; and the letters of Sir William Howe proved that every plan proposed by him was sure to meet with the approbation of the

minister ; and that stronger testimonies of confidence in a general could not be given by those who employed him, than that he should be left at liberty to prosecute the war according to his own ideas : it was also shown from the same correspondence, that the minister's intelligence concerning the state of America was not materially different from what had been communicated to him by the general, nor his hopes of success more sanguine or more lively than the dispatches of the commander in chief warranted him to entertain. These answers not being thought satisfactory, the House of Commons, after long and warm debates, resolved itself into a committee of inquiry, on the 29th of April, and was occasionally employed for two months after in examining papers, and interrogating persons on the subject. The officers called upon for examination were Lord Cornwallis, Major-general Grey, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Major Montresor, and Sir George Osborne, whose evidence went to establish the facts that the force sent to America was at no time equal to the subjugation of that continent ; that the people of America were almost unanimous in their enmity and resistance to Great Britain ; that the nature of the country was, beyond any other, difficult and impracticable for military operations ; and, that there was no fairer prospect of success, in any subsequent attempt at conquest, than in those which had been already made. On the other side Major-general Robertson, who had served twenty-four years in America, and Mr. Galloway, a member of the first congress, who had come over after General Howe's first successes, were examined, and gave evidence contradictory to the opinions advanced by the officers above mentioned ; the latter in particular was extremely severe in his censures of Sir William Howe, at whose request he was directed to attend again for cross examination ;

but on the day appointed, the general not being in the House, Mr. Whitworth moved an adjournment, and thus the committee expired without forming any resolution.

The spirit of toleration which distinguished the act of last session in favour of the Roman Catholics, was again exerted on behalf of the Protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters, a bill to relieve those people from some painful and absurd restrictions being carried with great facility. The grievances of Ireland did not, however, excite equally liberal feelings. She had suffered greatly from the American war, and an embargo on the exportation of provisions had nearly ruined that part of her trade, when various suggestions for her relief were discussed in Parliament; but owing to the opposition of several mercantile and manufacturing towns, very little was obtained. The merchants of Dublin and other places expressed their indignation at the illiberal opposition of self-interested people in Great Britain to the encouragement of their commerce, and resolved not to use any British goods which could be produced in Ireland, till a more enlightened and just policy should appear.

A short time before the prorogation, a royal message was delivered to Parliament, informing them, that a manifesto had been presented to his Majesty by the Count D'Almodovar, ambassador of the King of Spain, containing a declaration of hostility on the part of the Catholic King, who had in consequence ordered his ambassador to depart without taking leave. This event called forth much eloquence and invective from the opposition, who did not fail to remind ministers of the contempt with which they had treated every warning of danger, and of their repeated and triumphant declarations that Spain could have no interest in joining our

enemies—that Spain had colonies of her own, and would not set so bad an example as to afford aid or succour to our rebellious colonies. An address, with the fullest assurances of support, was carried as usual.

An act for raising volunteer companies to strengthen the militia, and another to take away, for a limited time, the legal exemptions from being pressed to serve on board the navy, having been prepared for the royal assent on the 3d of July, his Majesty put an end to the session, by returning his most cordial thanks to Parliament for their zeal in the support of so just and necessary a war, considering it as a happy omen to the success of his arms, that the increase of difficulties served only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation.

The siege of Gibraltar, which speedily followed the hostile rescript from the court of Spain, pointed out the first and immediate object of her designs. The blockade on the land side commenced in the month of July, and the place was soon after invested by sea. It was fortunate for Great Britain, that the efforts of Spain should be directed, at this juncture, to so impracticable and ruinous an enterprise. France had opened the year with a successful expedition to the coast of Africa; the settlement of Senegal and the British forts on the river Gambia being captured in February by a squadron under the Duke de Lauzun; but Goree was soon afterwards seized and garrisoned by Sir Edward Hughes, who did not attempt the recovery of the other possessions, his destination being for the East Indies, where he had greater objects in view. On the 1st of May the French attacked the Isle of Jersey with 5 or 6000 men, in flat-bottomed boats, under convoy of three frigates and some smaller vessels, but were so warmly received, that, after a faint effort, they relinquished the enterprise. In a few days after,

the frigates being seen on the opposite coast of Normandy, were pursued into Concalles Bay by a small squadron under Sir James Wallace in the *Experiment* of 50 guns, who taking upon himself the charge of his own ship, when the pilots refused to conduct her any farther, laid her a-breast of a battery that covered the runaways, and soon silenced it. Armed boats were immediately sent to board the French ships, which had been abandoned by their crews. A cutter of 16 guns was scuttled as she lay on the shore; two of the frigates were burnt; and the third, *La Danaé* of 34 guns, with the smaller vessels, was towed off in triumph.

Admiral Arbuthnot, with a squadron of men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen and transports, bound for New York, was proceeding down the channel, when he fell in with a vessel sent express from Jersey, with the first account of the danger of that island. He sailed directly with part of the squadron for its relief, ordering the rest to wait his return at Torbay; but finding, on his arrival off Guernsey, that the French had been repulsed, he rejoined his convoy. This deviation from his course, though short, was the cause of much subsequent delay, as the fleet was detained for near a month after by contrary winds. In the interval of its detention it was apprehended that the French would receive intelligence of its great value, and of the force that protected it; in consequence of which ten ships from the channel fleet were detached, under Admiral Darby, to accompany Arbuthnot to a certain latitude. The channel fleet, thus weakened, was obliged to suspend a plan for blocking up the harbour of Brest; and the French, availing themselves of the opportunity, hurried to sea with an imperfect equipment, and joined the fleet of Spain on the 24th of June. This junction was truly alarming: the two fleets, amounting to

more than sixty sail of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates and smaller vessels, steered for the British Channel, in the mouth of which Sir Charles Hardy, who had succeeded Keppel, was cruising with thirty-eight ships of the line, and some frigates. The combined fleets passed him about the middle of August, neither party observing the other, and appeared before Plymouth for two or three days, until a strong easterly wind compelled them to retire. The same wind had also driven the British fleet to sea; but, on the last day of August, Sir Charles Hardy entered the channel in full view of the enemy, who followed him as high as Plymouth: but as their crews were said to be sickly, their ships to be in bad condition, and the season for equinoctial gales was fast approaching, Count D'Orvilliers steered back to Brest, early in September, without effecting any thing farther than the capture of the *Ardent* man of war, which had accidentally fallen in with the combined fleets. The naval pride of England was certainly much mortified at these occurrences on her own coast, but the hopes of France and Spain, in fitting out so great an armament, must have been greatly disappointed.

The events in the West Indies, and on the banks of the Mississippi, proved more flattering to the views of the house of Bourbon, though not uncorrected by some severe strokes of disappointment and loss. The passiveness with which D'Estaign suffered himself to be blocked up in Fort Royal harbour has been already noticed. Both fleets were reinforced in the beginning of the year; that of Admiral Byron by several ships of war from England, under Commodore Rowley; and that of Count D'Estaign by a squadron from France, under M. de Grasse. The departure of Byron on the 6th of June, to convoy the trade of the West India Islands

siderable number of ships, store-houses, and salt-works were destroyed. During a subsequent delay in Egg harbour, occasioned by contrary winds, a French captain, with some private men, who had deserted from Pulaski's American legion, gave such an account of the careless manner in which three troops of horse and as many companies of infantry belonging to that corps were cantoned, as suggested to Captain Ferguson, the commander of the British detachment, the probability of surprising them. The success of the attempt was answerable to his expectation: the quarters of the enemy were surrounded in the night, and very few escaped. A few days before, a whole regiment of light horse, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Baylor, was surprised in the same manner, in the village of Old Taapan, by Major-general Grey, acting under the direction of Lord Cornwallis, and the greatest part of the Americans fell victims to the carnage incident to the confusion and uncertainty of a nightly attack. This unfortunate regiment had been detached by General Washington to harass the foraging parties of the British army on the banks of the North river; no farther attempt, however, was made to interrupt their operations.

An undertaking of greater importance was now determined upon by Sir Henry Clinton, who detached a considerable body of troops under Colonel Campbell, convoyed by Sir Hyde Parker, to attempt the recovery of the province of Georgia; General Prevost, governor of East Florida, having at the same time orders to co-operate with them. On the 23d of December, the armament arrived at the mouth of the Savannah; and on the 29th, Colonel Campbell attacked the American forces under Major-general Robert Howe, with the most signal success. The capital of Georgia immediately surrendered, and in less than a fortnight, the whole pro-

vince was recovered, with the exception of the town of Sunbury, which soon afterwards surrendered to General Prevost, who took the command of the British forces on his arrival at Savannah.

During these successes on the sea-coast, a desultory war was carried on in some of the interior and back settlements, between the Indians and the colonists, the latter too generally adopting the savage practices of the former. Mutual inroads were made, and waste and cruelty were inflicted and retorted with insatiable revenge. In the course of these barbarous hostilities, too shocking to admit of detail, the beautiful and flourishing new settlement of Wyoming, on the banks of the Susquehanna, fell a sacrifice to an incursion of Indians and American loyalists, headed by Colonel Butler; and the Indian settlements of Unadilla and Anaquago, upon the upper parts of the same river, which were also inhabited by white people attached to the royal cause, were in their turn ravaged and destroyed by the Americans. After a glance at such scenes of horror and disgust, the mind feels a sort of relief even in tracing the lamentable effects of civilized warfare.

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dom to the sea-coast bordering on the British channel. In England also no effort was spared; the militia were called out and embodied; and a British fleet of twenty ships of the line was cruising in the channel, before the grand fleet of France was in readiness to come out of Brest harbour.

Admiral Keppel, an officer of distinguished merit and reputation, having been fixed upon to command the channel fleet, sailed from St. Helen's on the 13th of June, with discretionary powers, as no blow had yet been struck by the enemy, which could bring upon them the direct charge of aggression. At the entrance of the Bay of Biscay, on the 17th, the admiral discovered two French frigates, the *Licorne* and the *Belle Poule*, very intent on taking a survey of his fleet, and on their refusal to obey the signal to bring-to, a chase ensued, when the *Licorne*, after discharging a broadside, struck to the *America*; the *Belle Poule*, after a warm engagement with the *Arethusa*, escaped by running on shore; and the *Pallas*, another French frigate, being discovered reconnoitering, was conducted into the fleet and detained. From the papers found on board these frigates, Admiral Keppel discovered that the French fleet in Brest amounted to thirty-two sail of the line; he therefore returned to port for a reinforcement. On the 9th of July he again sailed with twenty-four ships, and was soon afterwards joined by six more. About this time the French fleet, commanded by Count D'Orvilliers, sailed from Brest; and letters of reprisal, grounded on the capture of the *Pallas* and *Licorne*, were issued by the court of France. The two fleets came in sight of each other in the afternoon of the 23d of July; and after manœuvring for four successive days, an engagement ensued on the morning of the 27th, which lasted about two hours, the fleets passing on contrary tacks, and in opposite directions. As soon

as they had cleared each other, and the firing had ceased, the British admiral wore his ship to return upon the enemy, and threw out a signal for the rest of the fleet to form the line; but observing that some of his ships, disabled in the engagement, had fallen to leeward, and were in danger of being cut off by the enemy, he was in the first place obliged to take measures for their safety. By the manœuvres necessary for this purpose, and by the length of time required for repairing the damages sustained by the ships of the rear division under Sir Hugh Palliser, the day was so far spent before they could be again brought into their stations in the line, that nothing now remained but the expectation of the commander in chief, “that the French would fight it out handsomely next day.” D’Orvilliers put on every appearance of intending to do so; but in the night he quitted his station, and steered for the coast of France, leaving three frigates with lights, to deceive the English admiral. In the morning the rearmost of his ships were scarcely discernible; and as their inferiority had been fully demonstrated, both in the action and by their flight, it was matter of sincere regret that the attack had not been renewed the preceding evening. A pursuit being deemed useless, Admiral Keppel returned to Plymouth to refit, and then resuming his former station, kept the sea as long as the approaching winter would allow. The French fleet, being also refitted, ventured out of Brest; but instead of directing their course where they were sure of encountering an enemy, they made their way to the southward, where they were as certain of meeting none, and where their cruise could answer no other purpose than that of parade.

The engagement of the 27th of July, though not altogether “a proud day to England,” impressed upon the French such a consciousness of their ine-

quality to a renewal of the contest, that they avoided it by loitering about Cape Finisterre, and abandoning their own coasts and the bay to the British fleet; by which means the trade to England arrived in security from the different quarters of the world, whilst the French commerce became a prey to the English cruisers. But these advantages, however substantial, could not satisfy the public for the neglect of what they thought a favourable opportunity of terminating the war by a single blow. The failure of a complete victory was by some attributed to the commander in chief for not pushing his success, and by others to Sir Hugh Palliser for not obeying with all possible promptitude the signals of his superior officer, preparatory to a second attack. Some severe strictures on the vice-admiral's disregard of orders having appeared in the public prints, he wrote to Admiral Keppel, requiring from him an express contradiction of such foul aspersions. With this request the admiral refused to comply; upon which Sir Hugh Palliser published in one of the morning papers a statement of particulars relating to the action, with an introductory letter, containing much implied censure on the commander in chief. The latter immediately acquainted the first lord of the admiralty, that he could never sail, or act in conjunction with the vice-admiral of the blue, until matters were thoroughly explained by that officer. The dispute was inflamed by the indiscreet zeal of the partisans on both sides. It was taken up with great warmth in the House of Lords on the very first day of the session, (November the 25th,) and afterwards discussed in the House of Commons with still greater vehemence, both the admiral and vice-admiral being present, and taking a share in the debates, when the latter declared, that, finding he could not obtain justice by any personal application, and that no public motives

could induce the admiral to bring forward any charge against him, which might afford an opportunity for the vindication of his character, he had been driven by necessity, (not having a right to demand a trial on himself) in order to repair the injury done to his honour, to lay several articles of accusation against Admiral Keppel, tending to show, as he would hereafter demonstrate, that the failure of success on the 27th of July was owing to the misconduct and fault of that commander.

A court martial being ordered by the lords of the admiralty, the trial commenced at Portsmouth on the 7th of January, 1779, and was not closed till the 11th of the next month. The result was very flattering to the commander in chief: he was not only acquitted, but the charges against him were declared to be malicious and ill-founded. The acquittal was celebrated in London for two nights successively, with the usual testimonies of popular joy, but was also disgraced by the usual ebullitions of popular outrage. The iron gates and pallisades of the admiralty were but a weak fence against the fury of the mob; and the houses of Sir Hugh Palliser, of Lord Sandwich, and of several others; were threatened to be demolished, until troops were brought forward to their protection. Admiral Keppel's friends were not less active to obtain for him some tribute of parliamentary applause, and the thanks of both Houses were voted to him for his conduct. Sir Hugh Palliser afterwards obtained a court martial on himself, and with due magnanimity resigned his place at the admiralty board, his lieutenant-generalship of marines, and his government of Scarborough Castle, besides vacating his seat in the House of Commons. The court martial, after sitting twenty-one days, acquitted him, but not without a slight censure. The

want of temper and policy appears to have been his greatest crime. His signal bravery during the action on the 27th of July was acknowledged by his enemies; and if he was really blameable for a voluntary neglect of signals and contempt of orders after the action, the commander in chief cannot well escape some censure for not enforcing obedience, when he knew the honour and interest of his country to be at stake.

After the Christmas recess, Mr. Fox moved a vote of censure upon Lord Sandwich, "for sending Admiral Keppel, with twenty ships of the line only, to a station off the coast of France, thereby hazarding the safety of the kingdom, the Brest fleet consisting at that time of thirty-two ships of the line, besides a great superiority of frigates." The motion was negatived by a majority of only 204 against 170. Mr. Fox then moved, "that the state of the navy at the breaking out of the present war was inadequate to the exigencies of the service." In the course of the debate upon this motion, Lord Howe declared his resolution to decline all future service so long as the present ministers continued in office. On this occasion, the previous question was moved, and carried, by 246 against 174.

Mr. Fox, after the Easter recess, made his promised motion for the dismissal of Lord Sandwich from his Majesty's presence and councils for ever. The insufficiency of Admiral Keppel's squadron, the coolness shown to that officer, and the duplicity of ministers towards him on every occasion, were unsparingly advanced, but no new fact or argument was adduced; and the motion was rejected by 221 against 118. A similar motion made in the House of Lords, by the Earl of Bristol, shared the same fate. Although the manner in which these and similar motions were repeated displayed more party

zeal than real patriotism, they were supported in a manner which proved that the ministry was at this time far from popular.

At the opening of the budget, Lord North stated the deficiency in last year's taxes, the increase of the national expenditure, the difficulty he had experienced in negotiating a loan, and the distant prospect of a peace. The first evil, he said, arose from the operation of the servants' tax having been postponed, and from the underrating of the houses, and other errors in that plan of assessment. The increase of expenses could not be avoided, without relaxing our exertions when they ought to be most vigorous. The estimate of those expenses for the present year amounted to somewhat more than 15,000,000*l.* The provisions consisted of 2,700,000*l.* land and malt tax; 2,000,000*l.* sinking fund; 1,500,000*l.* exchequer bills; vote of credit for 1,000,000*l.*; about 1,200,000*l.* negotiable securities; and a new loan of 7,000,000*l.* to be raised by annuities in the three per cent. consolidated funds, besides a farther annuity of 3*l.* 15*s.* *per cent.* to cease at the expiration of twenty-nine years, and a *douceur* of seven lottery tickets at 10*l.* each to every subscriber of 1000*l.* The interest of the new loan was to be paid by an additional duty of five *per cent.* on the full produce of the excise and customs, beer and ale, soap, candles, and hides excepted; by a tax of one penny per mile on every post horse; and by an additional duty of five *per cent.* on cambric. Though the terms of the loan were hard, the public would be relieved from the most oppressive part of the burden in twenty-nine years; and an open subscription was too hazardous an experiment in the midst of a war, when great sums were to be borrowed, and a great deal of unfounded debt was floating. As to the probable continuance of the war, his lordship said there ap-

peared only three events which could render peace desirable. These were the return of America to her former state of obedience; the relinquishing her connexion with France; or France relaxing in her demands. The two former no man was at liberty to pronounce upon, and the latter there was little likelihood of at present. In such a state of affairs the prospect of peace was at a considerable distance; and though he did not doubt but money could be had in the usual manner, he thought it would not be unworthy that House and the nation at large to turn their thoughts to some mode of raising the supplies within the year, on account as well of the present as future advantages that must result, in a variety of instances, from the adoption of such a plan. Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke exerted all their well-known powers, the one in exposing what he called the futility of Lord North's remarks, and the other in descanting on his lordship's insolence; the committee, however, agreed to the proposed resolutions.

The ill success of the principal military operations in America having caused much public dissatisfaction, and blame having been imputed either to the commanders or the ministry, as party feelings suggested, Sir William Howe brought the matter before Parliament, alleging that he had not the cordial confidence and support of ministry; that the orders they had sent him were never clear, but ambiguous, and such as might be easily explained away in case of any adverse accident; and that they had concealed the true state of affairs in America, promising success when they knew there was no reason to expect it. In reply to these charges, the exertions of the minister for the American department were recapitulated; and the letters of Sir William Howe proved that every plan proposed by him was sure to meet with the approbation of the

minister ; and that stronger testimonies of confidence in a general could not be given by those who employed him, than that he should be left at liberty to prosecute the war according to his own ideas : it was also shown from the same correspondence, that the minister's intelligence concerning the state of America was not materially different from what had been communicated to him by the general, nor his hopes of success more sanguine or more lively than the dispatches of the commander in chief warranted him to entertain. These answers not being thought satisfactory, the House of Commons, after long and warm debates, resolved itself into a committee of inquiry, on the 29th of April, and was occasionally employed for two months after in examining papers, and interrogating persons on the subject. The officers called upon for examination were Lord Cornwallis, Major-general Grey, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Major Montresor, and Sir George Osborne, whose evidence went to establish the facts that the force sent to America was at no time equal to the subjugation of that continent ; that the people of America were almost unanimous in their enmity and resistance to Great Britain ; that the nature of the country was, beyond any other, difficult and impracticable for military operations ; and, that there was no fairer prospect of success, in any subsequent attempt at conquest, than in those which had been already made. On the other side Major-general Robertson, who had served twenty-four years in America, and Mr. Galloway, a member of the first congress, who had come over after General Howe's first successes, were examined, and gave evidence contradictory to the opinions advanced by the officers above mentioned ; the latter in particular was extremely severe in his censures of Sir William Howe, at whose request he was directed to attend again for cross examination ;

but on the day appointed, the general not being in the House, Mr. Whitworth moved an adjournment, and thus the committee expired without forming any resolution.

The spirit of toleration which distinguished the act of last session in favour of the Roman Catholics, was again exerted on behalf of the Protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters, a bill to relieve those people from some painful and absurd restrictions being carried with great facility. The grievances of Ireland did not, however, excite equally liberal feelings. She had suffered greatly from the American war, and an embargo on the exportation of provisions had nearly ruined that part of her trade, when various suggestions for her relief were discussed in Parliament; but owing to the opposition of several mercantile and manufacturing towns, very little was obtained. The merchants of Dublin and other places expressed their indignation at the illiberal opposition of self-interested people in Great Britain to the encouragement of their commerce, and resolved not to use any British goods which could be produced in Ireland, till a more enlightened and just policy should appear.

A short time before the prorogation, a royal message was delivered to Parliament, informing them, that a manifesto had been presented to his Majesty by the Count D'Almodovar, ambassador of the King of Spain, containing a declaration of hostility on the part of the Catholic King, who had in consequence ordered his ambassador to depart without taking leave. This event called forth much eloquence and invective from the opposition, who did not fail to remind ministers of the contempt with which they had treated every warning of danger, and of their repeated and triumphant declarations that Spain could have no interest in joining our

enemies—that Spain had colonies of her own, and would not set so bad an example as to afford aid or succour to our rebellious colonies. An address, with the fullest assurances of support, was carried as usual.

An act for raising volunteer companies to strengthen the militia, and another to take away, for a limited time, the legal exemptions from being pressed to serve on board the navy, having been prepared for the royal assent on the 3d of July, his Majesty put an end to the session, by returning his most cordial thanks to Parliament for their zeal in the support of so just and necessary a war, considering it as a happy omen to the success of his arms, that the increase of difficulties served only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation.

The siege of Gibraltar, which speedily followed the hostile rescript from the court of Spain, pointed out the first and immediate object of her designs. The blockade on the land side commenced in the month of July, and the place was soon after invested by sea. It was fortunate for Great Britain, that the efforts of Spain should be directed, at this juncture, to so impracticable and ruinous an enterprise. France had opened the year with a successful expedition to the coast of Africa; the settlement of Senegal and the British forts on the river Gambia being captured in February by a squadron under the Duke de Lauzun; but Goree was soon afterwards seized and garrisoned by Sir Edward Hughes, who did not attempt the recovery of the other possessions, his destination being for the East Indies, where he had greater objects in view. On the 1st of May the French attacked the Isle of Jersey with 5 or 6000 men, in flat-bottomed boats, under convoy of three frigates and some smaller vessels, but were so warmly received, that, after a faint effort, they relinquished the enterprise. In a few days after,

the frigates being seen on the opposite coast of Normandy, were pursued into Concalles Bay by a small squadron under Sir James Wallace in the *Experiment* of 50 guns, who taking upon himself the charge of his own ship, when the pilots refused to conduct her any farther, laid her a-breast of a battery that covered the runaways, and soon silenced it. Armed boats were immediately sent to board the French ships, which had been abandoned by their crews. A cutter of 16 guns was scuttled as she lay on the shore; two of the frigates were burnt; and the third, *La Danaé* of 34 guns, with the smaller vessels, was towed off in triumph.

Admiral Arbuthnot, with a squadron of men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen and transports, bound for New York, was proceeding down the channel, when he fell in with a vessel sent express from Jersey, with the first account of the danger of that island. He sailed directly with part of the squadron for its relief, ordering the rest to wait his return at Torbay; but finding, on his arrival off Guernsey, that the French had been repulsed, he rejoined his convoy. This deviation from his course, though short, was the cause of much subsequent delay, as the fleet was detained for near a month after by contrary winds. In the interval of its detention it was apprehended that the French would receive intelligence of its great value, and of the force that protected it; in consequence of which ten ships from the channel fleet were detached, under Admiral Darby, to accompany Arbuthnot to a certain latitude. The channel fleet, thus weakened, was obliged to suspend a plan for blocking up the harbour of Brest; and the French, availing themselves of the opportunity, hurried to sea with an imperfect equipment, and joined the fleet of Spain on the 24th of June. This junction was truly alarming: the two fleets, amounting to

more than sixty sail of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates and smaller vessels, steered for the British Channel, in the mouth of which Sir Charles Hardy, who had succeeded Keppel, was cruising with thirty-eight ships of the line, and some frigates. The combined fleets passed him about the middle of August, neither party observing the other, and appeared before Plymouth for two or three days, until a strong easterly wind compelled them to retire. The same wind had also driven the British fleet to sea; but, on the last day of August, Sir Charles Hardy entered the channel in full view of the enemy, who followed him as high as Plymouth: but as their crews were said to be sickly, their ships to be in bad condition, and the season for equinoctial gales was fast approaching, Count D'Orvilliers steered back to Brest, early in September, without effecting any thing farther than the capture of the *Ardent* man of war, which had accidentally fallen in with the combined fleets. The naval pride of England was certainly much mortified at these occurrences on her own coast, but the hopes of France and Spain, in fitting out so great an armament, must have been greatly disappointed.

The events in the West Indies, and on the banks of the Mississippi, proved more flattering to the views of the house of Bourbon, though not uncorrected by some severe strokes of disappointment and loss. The passiveness with which D'Estaign suffered himself to be blocked up in Fort Royal harbour has been already noticed. Both fleets were reinforced in the beginning of the year; that of Admiral Byron by several ships of war from England, under Commodore Rowley; and that of Count D'Estaign by a squadron from France, under M. de Grasse. The departure of Byron on the 6th of June, to convoy the trade of the West India Islands

part of the way to England, afforded D'Estaign an opportunity of commencing operations. He detached 450 men to the island of St, Vincent, which, though garrisoned by seven companies of regular troops, surrendered without a shot. This was ascribed to the hostility of the Caribbs, who had never been perfectly reconciled to the English government. D'Estaign being again reinforced, sailed from Fort Royal with twenty-six ships of the line, eight frigates, and a number of transports, having 9000 troops on board, and steered for Grenada, where he arrived on the 2d of July. Lord Macartney, the governor, though his whole garrison did not exceed 150 regulars, with about the same number of militia, being strongly posted on an intrenched hill, repulsed the first assault of between 2 and 3000 of the French, but the superiority of numbers was at length decisive, and, after a hard conflict, the British lines were forced, when Macartney and his brave companions, rather than give a formal assent to dishonourable terms, surrendered at discretion. Admiral Byron, hearing of the capture of St. Vincent's, directed his course thither; but on his passage he received the still more unwelcome tidings of the attack on Grenada, the relief of which was therefore to be immediately attempted. Though his force consisted of only twenty-one ships of the line, and one frigate, besides transports, he was animated by the warmest hopes of success, being ignorant of D'Estaign's last reinforcement. On the 6th of July he came in view of the enemy; and a warm, but partial action ensued, in which three or four of the English ships sustained considerable damage, though their loss, in killed and wounded, bore a very small proportion to the dreadful slaughter on board the French fleet. In the sequel, Admiral Byron having, to his great mor-

tification, seen the white flag flying on the fortress of St. George, withdrew to St. Christopher's, and D'Estaing returned to Grenada.

The balance of conquests was now greatly in favour of the French; and the superiority of their fleet spread a general panic among the inhabitants of the remaining British possessions in that quarter. It is, however, probable, that the severe loss of men in the late conflict concurred with the approach of the hurricane season to restrain for the present any further attempts of D'Estaing on the West India Islands. After settling the government of his new acquisition, he proceeded to Cape François in Hispaniola, where he received letters from the French consul at Charlestown, and from the governor of Carolina, acquainting him with General Prevost's having lately threatened that city; explaining the critical situation of the adjoining provinces; and pointing out the advantages which might be expected from his co-operating with General Lincoln in the recovery of Georgia. He accordingly sailed for that province, and, unexpectedly arriving on that coast, captured the *Ariel* of 24 guns, then cruising off Charlestown bar, and the *Experiment* of 50 guns, which had been sent from New York with two store-ships under her convoy. On the 9th of September D'Estaing anchored off the mouth of the Savannah, and summoned General Prevost to surrender to the conquerors of Grenada. That officer obtained a truce for twenty-four hours, as if to deliberate on the message, but in reality to gain time. General Lincoln having joined D'Estaing, a regular siege commenced, which was sustained with great vigour by General Prevost, assisted by Captain Moncrieff, the chief engineer. The combined armies amounted to more than 10,000 men, and the whole force in Savannah did not exceed the fourth part of that number. Although the can-

nonade was incessantly kept up from the 4th till the 9th, few lives were lost, and the defences of the town were in no respect materially injured. The French commander, impatient at the resistance he had met with, now determined upon a general assault, and, after a desperate contest, the allies were routed on every side, leaving behind them, in killed and wounded, 637 French, and 264 Americans. In about a week after, Lincoln made a precipitate retreat to Carolina, and D'Estaing proceeded with the greater part of his fleet to France, sending the rest to the West Indies; but the latter having been dispersed in a storm, four of the frigates were intercepted on their way to Martinico.

The campaign in the other parts of America was spent by the British fleet and army in desultory operations and partial expeditions, the object of which seems to have been to distract the attention of the Americans by their multiplicity, and to weaken them by gradually cutting off their resources. Sir Henry Clinton was indeed unable from the low state of the army, and the unfortunate delay of the reinforcements under Admiral Arbuthnot, to engage in any project of magnitude or importance. The same cause necessarily confined the sphere of naval enterprise, though the fleet had been since April, in consequence of Admiral Gambier's recall, under the command of Sir George Collier, an officer eminently distinguished for his zeal, activity, and success. His first attempt, in concert with General Matthew, was an expedition to the Chesapeake, and a descent upon Virginia, where they demolished Fort Nelson, the grand defence of the American dock-yard at Gosport, which they burnt, with all the timber it contained. A similar destruction was carried on at the town of Suffolk, at Kempe's Landing, Tanner's Creek, and other places in that quarter. The Americans themselves, on the approach of the invaders,

set fire to a ship of war of 28 guns, belonging to congress, and ready for launching ; and also to two French merchantmen in the river, with their cargoes on board : eight other ships of war, upon the stocks, and several merchantmen, were burnt by the British troops ; and, exclusively of other losses, the number of vessels taken or destroyed during this expedition, amounted to 137. Immediately on the return of the forces from Virginia, they were joined by Sir Henry Clinton, with additional troops under General Vaughan, and proceeding up the North river, carried the two important posts of Stony-point and Verplanks, which the Americans had diligently fortified to preserve the communication between the eastern and western colonies. Another expedition under Sir George Collier, Governor Tryon commanding the land forces, was projected nearly at the same time against Newhaven in Connecticut, where they took or destroyed the artillery, ammunition, and stores, with all the vessels in the harbour, but spared the town itself, with a degree of lenity, which the conduct of the inhabitants scarcely deserved ; for the troops, after they had possession of the place, were fired at from the windows, and several of the centinels, though placed at private houses to prevent plunder, were wounded upon their posts. From Newhaven the fleet proceeded to Fairfield ; and as the forbearance at the former town had produced no good effect, the latter was laid in ashes, to give an example of severity. Norwalk and Greenfield shared the same fate. A descent at New London was also intended ; but being likely to make an obstinate resistance, Sir George Collier returned to Long Island to confer with the commander in chief on the subject, when a sudden blow, struck by the American General Wayne, called off their attention to a different quarter. This was the surprise of the fort at Stoney-

point, which was taken by assault in the night of the 15th of July. The vigorous preparations of Sir Henry Clinton to regain this post induced the Americans to evacuate the fort, after destroying as many of the works as time would permit. They were soon repaired by the British troops. and a larger garrison than before was assigned for its defence. The very night that Brigadier Stirling recovered Stoney-point, a detachment of the Americans made a sudden attack on Paulus-hook, a strong post nearly opposite to New York on the Jersey side; but were compelled to retreat. The attention of Sir George Collier was next directed to the relief of a fortress lately constructed at the mouth of the river Penobscot, in the eastern confines of New England, which had been for some time closely invested by an armament from Boston. This was attacked lying in the river, by Sir George Collier, who took two frigates of 20 and 18 guns, and some provision vessels: the rest, including a new frigate of 32 guns, seven others from 24 to 16 guns, seven brigs, and twenty-four sail of transports, were all blown up. On Sir George Collier's return to New York, he found himself superseded by the arrival of Admiral Arbuthnot with the long expected reinforcements from England. Although it was now late, the season for action was not entirely over; but a rumour that D'Estaing intended to attack New York, compelled Sir Henry Clinton to give up all thoughts of offensive operations during the remainder of the campaign, and even to withdraw the garrison from Rhode Island for the purpose of concentrating his force. In this respect alone, by obliging Sir Henry Clinton to act upon the defensive, was D'Estaing's visit serviceable to the American cause.

In the interior the war of devastation was still carried on between the provincials and Indians.

Against the latter an expedition of magnitude was planned by congress, and the conduct of it was given to General Sullivan at the head of 5000 men, with a suitable train of artillery. The Indians, after one very obstinate and bloody conflict on the 29th of August, being convinced of their inability to resist such a force, abandoned their settlements; and the barbarous savage had the mortification to find that the civilized inhabitant of the sea-coast could rival him in deliberate acts of mischief. Eighteen of their towns were laid in ashes, 150,000 bushels of corn were destroyed, their gardens were laid waste, and nothing was suffered to remain that could be supposed to afford them sustenance. Whilst this terrible chastisement was inflicted on the Indians northward of Pennsylvania and New York, similar expeditions from the southern colonies were conducted upon the same principles.

As Spain had so carefully preserved the appearances of friendship till her preparations for war were fully completed, it was not a matter of surprise to see her commence hostilities in remote parts of the globe, with all the advantages of early information, and previous design. About the middle of August, Don Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, having collected the whole force of his province at New Orleans, set out upon an expedition against the British settlements on the Mississippi; and as they had no cover but a newly constructed fort, defended by 500 men, they could not long resist the efforts of a well-provided army of four times that number. Don Galvez, extending his views to the conquest of all West Florida, concerted a plan of operation with the governor of the Havannah, in pursuance of which he was to be assisted by a considerable embarkation from that place early in the ensuing year.

With equal eagerness, the Spanish governor of

Honduras attacked the British logwood cutters; took many of them prisoners; and expelled the rest from their principal settlement at St. George's Key. Captain Dalrymple, with a force from Jamaica, and some Indians and volunteers collected on the Mosquito shore, being on his passage to Honduras for the purpose of assisting the bay-men, fell in with a small squadron of frigates under Commodore Luttrell, who had been cruising to intercept two Spanish register ships. The commodore informed Captain Dalrymple, that the Spaniards were already dispossessed of St. George's Key; and that the register ships, having taken shelter in the harbour of Fort Omoa, the key to the whole settlement of Honduras, were so strongly protected as to bid defiance to any effort by sea. Under such circumstances, the two commanders agreed to make a joint attack on Omoa by sea and land, which was crowned with the most brilliant success. The walls were scaled by the intrepid assailants, on the 16th of October, and the keys of the fort were surrendered to Captain Dalrymple, with 355 prisoners. The value of the prizes was estimated at 3,000,000 of dollars. No part of this loss was more severely felt by the Spaniards than that of 250 quintals of quicksilver, a commodity so essential to the purification of their gold and silver ores, that they would have given almost any price for it: but the captors, preferring the public good to their own emolument, would not part upon any terms with an article of such consequence to the enemy, though of no great value to themselves. A small garrison was left in the castle, which was afterwards so much diminished by the unhealthiness of the climate, that the place was recovered by the Spaniards.

Some changes in the ministry took place in November. Lord Stormont, late ambassador at Paris, was made secretary of state in the room of

Lord Suffolk, deceased : the Earl of Weymouth a second time resigned the seals of the southern department, which were transferred to the Earl of Hillsborough : Lord Gower having quitted the president's chair, it was filled by Lord Bathurst ; and the old place of first lord of trade and plantations, which had been absorbed and included in the new office of secretary of state for the colonies, was now separated and bestowed on the Earl of Carlisle. The secretaryship at war had, some months before, been given to Mr. Jenkinson, who had displayed a considerable share of talent.

The success at Omoa, and some other favourable occurrences abroad, were not known in England at the meeting of Parliament on the 25th of November, but the disappointment of the French and Spanish confederacy in their schemes of invasion was a subject of triumph in the speech from the throne ; and though they still threatened Great Britain with armaments and preparations, the King declared his persuasion, that, knowing the character of his brave people, the menaces of their enemies, and the approach of danger, had no other effect on their minds, but to call forth that national spirit which had so often defeated the projects of ambition and injustice : the state of Ireland was recommended to the consideration of Parliament : the good conduct of the militia was acknowledged : and his Majesty returned his cordial thanks to all ranks of loyal subjects who had stood forth in this arduous conjuncture, assuring them that he was firmly resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion, in order to compel the enemy to listen to equitable terms of peace. The usual motion for an address, in answer to the speech from the throne, called forth an amendment from the Marquis of Rockingham, censuring, in strong language, the facility with which the two ambassadors, Lords Grantham and Stormont,

had suffered themselves to be deceived by the craft of Spain and France ; and the confidence with which ministers had assured Parliament that treaties inimical to the interests of Great Britain were not in existence, or even in embryo ; also beseeching his Majesty to reflect upon the extent of territory, power, and opulence, of reputation abroad and concord at home, which distinguished the opening of his Majesty's reign, and marked it as the most splendid and happy period in the history of this nation ; and to turn his eyes on the present endangered, impoverished, distracted, and even dismembered, state of the empire, after all the grants of successive parliaments, liberal even to profusion, and trusting to the very utmost extent of rational confidence ;—and finally stating to his Majesty, that if any thing could prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can be only new counsels and new counsellors,—a real change from the conviction of past errors,—and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless. Lord Stormont, in reply, imputed a great part of the public misfortunes to the incautious and too often violent language held in Parliament. Lord Mansfield declared himself persuaded that nothing but a full and comprehensive union of all parties and all men could effect the salvation of the country. He was old enough to have seen violent party struggles ; but no previous time presented an image of the present. How far the temper of the nation and the state of parties might admit of a coalition, he could not decide ; but the event was devoutly to be wished. The amendment was negatived by 82 against 41 voices. A similar amendment, moved in the House of Commons, by Lord John Cavendish, was, after a most acrimonious and stormy debate, negatived by 233 against 134. Lord North admitted that it was a duty of Parliament to cause bad ministers to be removed ; but he

insisted that proof should first be made of their delinquency. The disapprobation of that House must and ought to sweep ministers before it; and whenever his day of account should come, he declared himself ready to meet it without fear.

On the 6th of December, a resolution of censure on the ministers was moved in the House of Commons by the Earl of Upper Ossory, relative to the affairs of Ireland. This motion was supported by Mr. Dunning, a lawyer and speaker of great eminence, and by Mr. Burke, who drew a parallel between the situation of Ireland and that of America. Lord North, who opposed the motion, declared his intention to bring forward certain resolutions respecting Ireland in a few days, which he trusted would meet the ideas of gentlemen on both sides of the House. The motion was then negatived by 173 against 100; and a similar motion, in the Peers, by the Earl of Shelburne, was negatived by 82 against 37. Lord North, agreeably to his intimation, brought forward his propositions respecting Ireland, comprising several important concessions, particularly that Ireland should be allowed the free exportation of her woollens. These resolutions passed unanimously, and were received in Ireland with the warmest testimonies of joy and gratitude.

The army and navy estimates, which had been submitted to Parliament before the Christmas recess, while they served to show the vigour of the preparations for the ensuing campaign, could scarcely fail of exciting, at the same time, some alarm at the magnitude of the contest, and the prodigious expense with which it was attended. The aggregate of the forces deemed necessary for the prosecution of the war fell little short of 270,000 men, besides the troops upon the Irish and Indian establishments; and in order to provide for their maintenance, and for the other exigencies of the

state, 12,000,000*l.* were required to be raised by loan, in addition to the permanent means of supply. So considerable an increase of the national debt excited much opposition; ministers were accused of prodigality and waste of the public money; and economy became the order of the day. Early in 1780 public meetings were convened in various places, and petitions were presented to Parliament, praying for a correction of abuses in the public expenditure. The appointment of a select committee to examine the public accounts was moved for by Colonel Barré in the Lower, and the Earl of Shelburne in the Upper House; and Lord North, influenced by these proceedings, brought in a bill for instituting a commission of accounts, consisting of independent gentlemen, not members of either House, which was carried by a great majority; and their successive reports display much accuracy, ability, and impartiality. About the same time Mr. Burke brought forward a plan for the reduction of the national expenditure, and the diminution of the influence of the crown, to effect which purposes he moved for leave to bring in certain bills for the better regulation of his Majesty's civil establishments, for the sale of forest and other crown lands, for more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, and the duchy of Cornwall. The necessary minuteness of detail, the multiplicity of local circumstances, and personal considerations, on which the whole plan was founded, were embellished by Mr. Burke's genius and fancy with all the charms of eloquence; but the bills, after many violent conflicts, in the course of which the minister was more than once left in a minority, were finally lost. In one of these debates, which had for its object the abolition of the board of trade, an extraordinary dispute took place between Sir Fletcher Norton

and Lord North. Mr. Fox having called upon the speaker for his opinion on the competency of Parliament to control the civil list expenditure, the latter took occasion to declare that the noble lord at the head of affairs and he were not friends, at which the minister expressed no small degree of surprise; Sir Fletcher then stated, that he had been induced to quit the bar, and to accept of his present situation, by an engagement on the part of the Duke of Grafton, at that time minister, that, whenever an opportunity offered, he should be provided for in the line of his profession, as a pledge of which, and by way of equivalent for the advantages he had given up, he now held the sinecure office of lord chief justice in Eyre. But, notwithstanding this compact, he had lately discovered, that a negotiation was in train between the noble minister then present, and the chief judge of one of the courts, by which the latter was to retire on a pension for the purpose of appointing another to supply his place, to the utter subversion of his own claim. Lord North said, he did not question the account given by the right honourable gentleman, but he neither knew of the transaction at the time, nor looked upon himself as responsible for any promise which might have been made by his predecessors in office. The fact was, that Sir William de Grey, then lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, had intimated his intention to resign, and Mr. Wedderburne was fixed upon for his successor; on which occasion the title of Lord Loughborough was also conferred upon him. Mr. Wallace succeeded to the office of attorney-general, and Mr. Mansfield was appointed solicitor-general.

Another of those personal bickerings arose, a few days after, out of the following circumstances. Mr. Fullarton, late secretary to the embassy at Paris, had, upon his return to England, offered to

raise a regiment, the command of which was given him as a return for his exertions. This appointment, however, had been contemptuously mentioned in a late debate by the Earl of Shelburne, who said, that a *clerk* ought not to be trusted with a regiment, and that he and his regiment would be as ready to draw their swords against the liberties of their country as against its foes. These aspersions were strongly resented by Mr. Fullarton, who introduced the subject in the House of Commons, when a warm altercation ensued. Lord North, after complimenting him on the spirit with which he felt and resented the injury, advised him to treat all personal attacks with indifference; he, however, sought other means of redress. Lord Shelburne gave him a meeting in Hyde Parke, and being wounded, though not dangerously, by Mr. Fullarton's second shot, fired his own remaining pistol in the air, upon which the matter terminated.

The loan of 12,000,000*l.* before mentioned was to be funded in the four per cents., and the interest to be raised chiefly by an increase of some old taxes, principally that on malt; but it was only to affect private breweries, an adequate allowance being made to the public brewer. The opposition made to this tax was very feeble, there being only 9 who refused to support the measure, "until the county petitions were first complied with," against 135, who voted for it. On bringing up the report, Mr. Hartley and some others asserted, "that, by agreeing to the report previously to remedying the grievances of the nation, the matter would be reduced to this alternative,—if the Parliament got the better of the people, this would become an absolute monarchy: if the people got the better of the Parliament, the King would be dethroned." This opinion was countenanced by 37 members out of 182 then present.

On the 6th of April the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, on the motion of Mr. Dunning, to take the petitions of the people into consideration, on which occasion a very remarkable debate occurred. The honourable mover submitted two propositions, which, should the House concur in them, he meant to follow up with real, substantial, and practicable measures; but, should they dissent from them, or endeavour to evade or procrastinate, there would be at once an end of the petitions and a full answer to the petitioners. His first motion was, that it be resolved by this House, "that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." This motion was warmly supported by the speaker of the House, who declared, that on an occasion like the present, he should deem himself criminal in remaining silent; the resolution proposed contained an allegation which was too notorious to require proof—which, in its full extent, did not admit of proof—it could be known only to the members of that House. As they were the only persons competent to resolve it, they were bound as jurors by the conviction arising in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly. The powers constitutionally vested in the executive part of the government, were, he said, amply sufficient for all the purposes of good government, but its undue influence had increased to a degree absolutely incompatible with every just idea of a limited monarchy. What the petitioners demanded should have originated within those walls; they were sitting as the representatives of the people, solely for their advantage and benefit, and were pledged to them for the faithful discharge of their trust. The lord-advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas, proposed such an amendment as he thought would be rejected by opposition, and, consequently, that the

whole would fall to the ground. The amendment, however, which consisted in inserting the words, "that it is now necessary to declare," was readily and unexpectedly agreed to by the opposite party; and on a division the numbers were, in favour of the motion 233, against it 215; so that ministers were left in a minority of 18. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that it was competent to that House to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the House to do so." This motion was also carried. It was then moved, by Mr. Thomas Pitt, "that it was the duty of that House to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to the House from the different counties, cities, and towns, in this kingdom." Lord North most earnestly implored the committee, as he had done on the former motion, to desist, but the resolution was agreed to. Mr. Fox then moved, "that the resolutions should be immediately reported to the House." This was protested against as violent, arbitrary, and contrary to the established usage of Parliament. The motion, however, was carried; and the chairman reporting the resolutions accordingly, they were severally agreed to by the House. Four days afterwards, the committee being resumed, Mr. Dunning moved "that there be laid before the House every session, within seven days after the meeting of Parliament, an account of all monies paid out of the civil list revenue to, or for the use of, or in trust for, any member of Parliament since the last recess." This, though objected to by ministers, was carried without a division. Mr. Dunning next moved, "that the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer of the household, comptroller

of the household, master of the household, clerks of the green cloth, and their deputies, should be rendered incapable of a seat in that House." This also was opposed; but, on a division, it was carried by 215 against 213. So far the opposition had triumphantly proceeded, when the sudden illness of the speaker obliged the House to adjourn to the 24th of April. The committee being then resumed, Mr. Dunning moved for an address, "that his Majesty would be pleased not to dissolve the Parliament or prorogue the present session until the objects of the petitions were answered." This motion, to the astonishment and chagrin of the opposition, was rejected by 254 against 203. It was evident, that, during the recess, a sudden change had taken place in the temper and disposition of the House. Mr. Fox, after the division, severely reprobated the conduct of those men who had thus receded from the solemn engagements which they had so recently entered into; and Mr. Dunning charged them with direct treachery to the nation, considering this resolution as an effectual bar to all future means and efforts of redress. On a subsequent resumption of the subject, he moved, "that the two resolutions passed on the 10th of April be reported." A motion, however, from the opposite side of the House, "that the chairman leave the chair," which amounted to a dissolution of the committee, was carried by 177 to 134. Thus ended those memorable deliberations.

During the session of 1778, an act had been passed relieving the Roman Catholics from some of the heavier penalties inflicted upon them in the last century. This measure was much approved in England; but in Scotland it excited great indignation, and dangerous popular commotions. Violent tumults took place at Edinburgh and Glasgow; the Popish chapel in the metropolis was destroyed; the

houses of the principal Catholics were attacked and plundered; and the fanatics formed themselves into a society, termed the "Protestant Association," to oppose any remission of the laws against the Papists. Of this association, Lord George Gordon, a man in the highest degree wild, eccentric, and enthusiastical, was chosen president. This association gradually extended to England; much pains were taken to prejudice the minds of the vulgar against the relaxation of the penal code; and it was at length determined to prepare a petition for a repeal of the law alluded to, which is affirmed to have obtained 120,000 signatures, chiefly of men of the lowest orders of society. Lord George Gordon, who was a member of the House of Commons, declined to present this petition, unless he were accompanied to the House by at least 20,000 men. A meeting of the association was consequently convened in St. George's Fields, on the 2d of June, whence it was supposed that not less than 50,000 persons proceeded in regular divisions, with Lord George Gordon at their head, to the House of Commons, where his lordship presented their petition. Towards evening this multitude began to grow very tumultuous, and grossly insulted several members of both Houses, compelling them, in passing to and from the House, to cry, No Popery! and to wear blue cockades. During the debates on the petition, Lord George Gordon frequently addressed the mob without, in terms calculated to inflame their passions, stating to them, "that the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the Popish chapels." After the adjournment of the House, the mob, agreeably to this suggestion, proceeded to demolish the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors. The military were ordered out; and though they were unable to prevent the mischief, they apprehended several of the rioters. The following

day, Saturday, passed quietly ; but on Sunday the rioters re-assembled in vast numbers, and destroyed the chapels and private dwellings belonging to the principal Catholics in the vicinity of Moorfields. On Monday they extended their devastations to other parts of the town ; and the house of Sir George Saville, in Leicester Fields, was totally demolished, Sir George having been the proposer of the obnoxious bill. They also destroyed a Catholic chapel, in Virginia Street, Ratcliff Highway, and a valuable library belonging to the priests. On Tuesday, the day for taking the petition into consideration, the mob again surrounded the Parliament House, repeating their outrages and insults. After passing some resolutions adapted to the occasion, and expressive of their indignation, the House adjourned. In the evening, the populace attacked the prison of Newgate, where their comrades were confined, and, setting the building in flames, liberated upwards of 300 felons and debtors. They next proceeded to Lord Mansfield's house, in Bloomsbury Square, which they totally demolished, with the paintings, library, manuscripts, and furniture, his lordship himself escaping with some difficulty. The prisons of Clerkenwell were also forced, many private houses were plundered and destroyed, and scarcely did the night afford any cessation of the riots. On Wednesday, the mob, more desperate than ever, attacked with incredible fury the houses of various individuals, chiefly Catholics, which they had previously marked for destruction. In the evening the King's Bench, the Fleet Prison, the New Compter, the toll-gates on Blackfriars' Bridge, and Langdale's large distillery in Holborn, were set on fire ; and, with a prodigious number of private dwellings in different parts of the town burning at the same time, formed a tremendous scene of conflagration. Attempts were also made on the Bank

and Pay Office ; but these, being strongly guarded, fortunately escaped destruction. At this time, the public indignation was much excited by the supineness of the magistracy of London ; and at length a privy council was convened, at which several members of the opposition attended, and the King himself declared, that, although the magistrates had not done their duty, he would not be deficient in his. General orders were then immediately transmitted to the military to fire upon the rioters, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate ; in consequence of which, by noon, on Thursday, order and tranquillity were perfectly restored, though at the expense of many of the rioters' lives. Next evening, Lord George Gordon was taken into custody, and, after a strict examination before the privy council, committed close prisoner to the Tower on a charge of high treason, which not being fully established at his trial, he was acquitted. An impeachment of the House of Commons for high crimes and misdemeanors would have been a more effectual mode of procedure, and would have ensured that punishment, which his audacious and inflammatory conduct so justly deserved. A great number of the rioters having been also apprehended, a special commission was issued for trying them, and many suffered death. But neither the sword of public justice, nor the more destructive fire of the military, proved so fatal to the great body of the delinquents, as their own inordinate appetites. Several hundreds fell the victims of inebriation, especially at Langdale's distillery ; while others in search of plunder were suddenly buried in the ruins of demolished houses.

On the very day that the riots commenced, the Duke of Richmond gave notice of his design to bring in a bill for annual parliaments, and a more equal representation of the people in the House of

Commons. The constitution, he said, had been impaired, and was impairing daily, by the accumulation of abuses: Parliament was becoming more and more servile: and the tendency of the prevailing system was, to make the will of the sovereign the rule and measure of the government. The most effectual remedy for the existing evils would be to shorten the duration of parliaments, rendering them annual; and to cause every man in the kingdom, of full age and not disqualified by law, to be represented in the House of Commons. At this very time, the House was prevented from listening by the outrages of the lawless multitude without, who, according to the principles of the proposed bill, were henceforth to be invested with the power of returning representatives to Parliament: the populace were on the point of rushing into the House, opposed only by the activity and resolution of the door-keepers and attendants. Several peers were grossly insulted, and, on entering, exhibited proofs of the indignities which they had sustained; and the House at length adjourned in the utmost confusion.

The members of the House of Commons began to assemble early on the 8th of June; but upon the speaker's pointing out to those present the impossibility of exercising their legislative functions, while the city of Westminster was under martial law, they adjourned to the 19th, as the Lords had done two days before. The meeting of both Houses, after this forced recess, was opened by his Majesty, who lamented the necessity which had obliged him, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to employ the force intrusted to him for the suppression of those acts of felony and treason, which had overborne all civil authority, and threatened the immediate subversion of all legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state; he at the same time

renewed his assurances, that he had no other object than to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of the constitution, the rule and measure of his conduct. Addresses of thanks for this speech were voted without a single negative. Next day, it was determined in a committee of the whole House of Commons, that no repeal of the act in favour of the Roman Catholics should take place, as the grievances said to arise from it were imaginary: but several resolutions were agreed to, tending to set the conduct of Parliament in a fair light, and to undeceive the ill-informed, yet well-meaning, part of the petitioners against that act. A bill was also carried through the Lower House, to restrain Papists from taking upon them the education of Protestant children; but many of the lords thinking it derogatory from their dignity and independence to have any bill forced upon them by popular outrage, or passed through a weak compliance with absurd prejudices, the bill was got rid of by a motion on the 4th of July, to put off the third reading till that day week. This amounted to a total rejection, as Parliament was prorogued on the 8th.

Government eventually derived an accession of strength from those riots which aimed at little less than its subversion; for they so strongly impressed the minds of the public with the danger arising from popular assemblies for political purposes, that the associations for reform were deserted by many who had at first encouraged them. Amongst other circumstances that also concurred to allay the discontents which had for some time existed, the chief articles of subsistence had fallen to nearly half the price which they bore at the beginning of the war. Wheat, which sold for 15*l.* per load in the year 1775, now fell to 7*l.* 10*s.*: barley, oats, and peas were reduced in nearly the same proportion; and hay was still more abundant, having fallen from 4*l.* 10*s.*

to 40s. per load, which had a material influence on the prices of cattle.

The year opened with new accessions of glory to the naval renown of England: Sir George Rodney, having under his command a reinforcement of ships for the West Indies, and a part of the channel fleet with provisions and stores for the garrison of Gibraltar, had only been a few days at sea, when, on the 8th of January, he fell in with a convoy of sixteen merchantmen bound to Cadiz, under protection of a 64 gun ship, four frigates, and two smaller vessels, to which he immediately gave chase; and, in a few hours, the whole were taken. Prince William Henry, afterwards Duke of Clarence, the King's third son, embarked with Sir George. About a week after this exploit, he descried, off Cape St. Vincent, a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, which he directly bore down upon, taking the leegage, in order to prevent them from retreating into their own ports. The action began, in the midst of a very rough gale, at four in the afternoon; and, in little more than half an hour, one of the Spanish ships blew up, and all on board perished. The engagement continued till two in the morning, when the Phoenix of 80 guns, Admiral Langara's own ship, and three of 70 guns each, were taken and secured: two more of 70 guns had also struck; but, through the violence of the tempest, were afterwards driven on shore and lost. The rest of the squadron escaped in a shattered condition. Sir George Rodney's force was certainly much superior; yet his skill and courage were not the less eminently displayed in the attack, which the violence of the storm, the darkness of the night, and the vicinity of a lee-shore, rendered extremely dangerous. As soon as Sir George saw the supplies safely landed at Gibraltar, he proceeded to the West Indies, sending home his prizes with the detach-

ment of the channel fleet under Admiral Darby, who, on his passage, captured the *Prothée*, a French ship of 64 guns, and three vessels laden with military stores, being part of a convoy bound to the Mauritius, in the East Indies.

Though the reinforcement under Admiral Rodney, after his arrival at St. Lucia on the 27th of March, still left the British fleet somewhat inferior to that of the French at Martinique, yet he soon returned a late menacing visit from the Count de Guichen, and remained two days off Fort Royal harbour, endeavouring to provoke the enemy to an engagement. He then left some swift-sailing vessels to watch their motions, and returned with the rest of his fleet to St. Lucia. In about a fortnight, Rodney received intelligence that the French fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line and a number of frigates, had put to sea in the night of the 15th of April; and, although he had three ships less, he used such exertions in pursuit of the enemy, as to come up with them in the morning of the 17th. At noon he made the signal for a general and close engagement, setting himself a noble example to all his officers, by beating three of the enemy's ships successively out of the line, and then bearing down upon the French admiral, whom, though assisted by two seconds, he fought for an hour and a half with unremitting fury, till the enemy bore away, whereby their line of battle was entirely broken in the centre. The great distance of the British van and rear, with the crippled state of some of Rodney's division, and particularly of his own ship, after having singly sustained such a conflict, rendered it impossible to make the victory complete by an immediate chase. His subsequent exertions to bring the enemy to an action were constantly eluded by the Count de Guichen, who first took shelter at Guadaloupe, and afterwards regained his former

place of security at Fort Royal, though not without receiving some severe blows in a few partial encounters. The arrival of a Spanish squadron of twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and transports with above 10,000 troops on board, seemed to give the count an invincible superiority, and to portend ruin to the British possessions, as well as to the British navy, in those seas, but the storm blew over without a single explosion. A pestilential distemper broke out among the Spanish troops, and the allied fleets, after remaining inactive for several weeks in the bay of Fort Royal, put to sea in the night of the 5th of July, directing their course to St. Domingo, whence Don Solano proceeded with the Spanish fleet to the Havannah, and the Count de Guichen put into Cape François, where he remained till the homeward bound trade from the French islands had assembled, when, taking it under his protection, he sailed directly for Europe. Sir George Rodney, thinking that the count only meant to convoy the trade to a certain latitude, and then proceed to the continent of America, sailed thither himself with eleven ships of the line and four frigates, to be in readiness to thwart the designs of his old enemy in every quarter. Although he found, soon after his arrival at New York, in September, that this effort of his zeal for the public service might have been dispensed with, yet, in the end, he had no cause to regret the trouble which he had taken, as it proved the means of saving the squadron under his immediate command from one of the most dreadful hurricanes that had ever swept the seas or desolated the islands in the West Indies.

The successes of the British forces on the continent and coast of America, during the whole of this campaign, were clouded with few misfortunes. Sir Henry Clinton, who had sailed from New York just before the close of the preceding year, with the

greater part of the army, under convoy of Admiral Arbuthnot, landed on John's Island, within thirty miles of Charlestown, about the middle of February. But the natural and artificial obstructions to the farther progress of the forces both by sea and land were so great, that the troops did not reach Charlestown Neck till the 29th of March. The frigates and some of the larger ships, which were lightened of their guns, crossed the bar on the 20th of March, and on the 9th of April effected their passage into the harbour, under a severe and impetuous fire from the batteries on Sullivan's Island. A joint summons was now sent to General Lincoln, who commanded in Charlestown, to surrender; but he replied, that duty and inclination prompted him to defend it to the last extremity. As soon, however, as the second parallel of the besiegers was complete, he offered to capitulate, but on conditions which were deemed inadmissible. In a few days, the third parallel being advanced within 150 yards of his lines, and preparations made for a general assault, he consented to deliver up the city on the terms originally proposed by the British commanders. Between 6000 and 7000 men, consisting of regular troops, militia, and sailors, became prisoners of war, and were allowed some of its honours; but in marching out to deposit their arms, the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. Near 400 pieces of ordnance, with a considerable quantity of stores, fell into the hands of the victors. Three American and one French frigate, a polacre of 16 guns, and some smaller vessels, were also taken. The naval capture would have been more considerable, had not the Americans, on seeing the bar crossed by the British squadron, sunk a 60 gun ship, three frigates, a brig, and several merchantmen, to obstruct the channel of the river. General Leslie took possession of the

town on the 12th of May; and the commander in chief immediately set on foot several expeditions, calculated to extinguish every idea of resistance in the interior of the province, and issued proclamations for the purpose of conciliating the voluntary submission of the inhabitants. These measures seemed to produce the desired effect: the only body of continental troops that still held out was unexpectedly attacked, and almost cut to pieces, by a detachment of horse under Colonel Tarleton; and the people in every part of the country appeared ready to embrace the offers of pardon and protection held out to them. Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, leaving 4000 men under Lord Cornwallis to secure the acquisitions already made, and to penetrate into North Carolina, as soon as the abatement of the intense heat of the season and other circumstances should concur to favour such an enterprise.

The departure of the commander in chief for New York was accelerated by the intelligence that a French armament was expected on that part of the coast, to co-operate with General Washington, and on the 10th of July, about three weeks after Sir Henry Clinton's return, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island from France, with seven sail of the line, five frigates, and 6000 troops under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, who assured the States that this was only the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid. The British fleet at New York being increased at the same juncture by the arrival of six sail of the line from England, a scheme was quickly formed by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot to attack the French and Americans at Rhode Island; but General Washington, by a rapid movement, crossing the North River, and advancing towards New York, obliged them to desist.

The French and American commanders expected to be joined about this time by the Count de Guichen, with a land force and twenty ships of the line from the West Indies ; in which case New York was to be assailed in every direction with irresistible fury : but his departure for Europe made it necessary for Washington to have a meeting with Rochambeau, to concert new measures. While the former was absent upon this service, General Arnold, who then commanded a considerable body of troops at West Point on the North River, but who had lately entered into a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for delivering up to him that important post, requested that a confidential person might be sent to him, finally to adjust the business and carry it into effect without delay. Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, a young man of singular accomplishments, was charged with this commission ; and passed up the river unknown and unsuspected, from the head-quarters at New York, to the post of West Point. On his return by land, however, (September the 23rd,) he was taken in disguise, and with a false passport, by three American privates, to whom he in vain offered large rewards if they would suffer him to escape. On examination, the papers found upon him discovered all the particulars of the conspiracy ; and his case being referred to a board of general officers, of which the Marquis de la Fayette was one, they unanimously determined that he came under the denomination of a spy ; and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death. This, notwithstanding the solicitations and menaces of Sir Henry Clinton, who anxiously sought the means of saving him, was, on the 2d of October, inflicted by the hands of the hangman ! a deed, the memory of which must rest, for ever, as an indelible stain upon the character of Washington.

He died like a man and a soldier, regretting only the ignominious mode in which he was to forfeit his life, and his memory was honoured with a monument in Westminster Abbey. General Arnold, with great difficulty, made his escape to New York, where he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general in the British army.

While the war may be said to have languished in the central colonies from the near equipoise of strength, or the secure positions of the contending parties, the state of affairs in the south afforded greater scope for military enterprise. The force which had been left under Lord Cornwallis in Carolina, though disposed with the greatest judgment, seemed likely to be overwhelmed by the increasing armies of the Americans on the frontiers, whose confidence of success was not more owing to the superiority of their numbers, than to their having Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, at their head. But that general had now a Cornwallis and a Rawdon to contend with; and the laurels gained at Saratoga were doomed to fade in the neighbourhood of Camden. From this post, the British army, consisting of about 2000 effective men, set off in the night of the 15th of August, with the hopes of surprising the Americans in their camp, which was twelve miles distant. General Gates had, at the very same time, formed a similar scheme of attacking Lord Cornwallis by surprise, and was then on his march for that purpose with about 6000 men, of which the militia formed the greatest part. The advanced guards of both armies met and fired upon each other at two o'clock in the morning, and when day-light appeared, Lord Rawdon and Colonel Webster charged the enemy with such vigour, that the militia fled at the first onset. The reserve, consisting of about 2500 regulars, stood their ground very firmly for near an hour, but were at length

state, 12,000,000*l.* were required to be raised by loan, in addition to the permanent means of supply. So considerable an increase of the national debt excited much opposition; ministers were accused of prodigality and waste of the public money; and economy became the order of the day. Early in 1780 public meetings were convened in various places, and petitions were presented to Parliament, praying for a correction of abuses in the public expenditure. The appointment of a select committee to examine the public accounts was moved for by Colonel Barré in the Lower, and the Earl of Shelburne in the Upper House; and Lord North, influenced by these proceedings, brought in a bill for instituting a commission of accounts, consisting of independent gentlemen, not members of either House, which was carried by a great majority; and their successive reports display much accuracy, ability, and impartiality. About the same time Mr. Burke brought forward a plan for the reduction of the national expenditure, and the diminution of the influence of the crown, to effect which purposes he moved for leave to bring in certain bills for the better regulation of his Majesty's civil establishments, for the sale of forest and other crown lands, for more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, and the duchy of Cornwall. The necessary minuteness of detail, the multiplicity of local circumstances, and personal considerations, on which the whole plan was founded, were embellished by Mr. Burke's genius and fancy with all the charms of eloquence; but the bills, after many violent conflicts, in the course of which the minister was more than once left in a minority, were finally lost.

In one of these debates, which had for its object the abolition of the board of trade, an extraordinary dispute took place between Sir Fletcher Norton

and Lord North. Mr. Fox having called upon the speaker for his opinion on the competency of Parliament to control the civil list expenditure, the latter took occasion to declare that the noble lord at the head of affairs and he were not friends, at which the minister expressed no small degree of surprise; Sir Fletcher then stated, that he had been induced to quit the bar, and to accept of his present situation, by an engagement on the part of the Duke of Grafton, at that time minister, that, whenever an opportunity offered, he should be provided for in the line of his profession, as a pledge of which, and by way of equivalent for the advantages he had given up, he now held the sinecure office of lord chief justice in Eyre. But, notwithstanding this compact, he had lately discovered, that a negotiation was in train between the noble minister then present, and the chief judge of one of the courts, by which the latter was to retire on a pension for the purpose of appointing another to supply his place, to the utter subversion of his own claim. Lord North said, he did not question the account given by the right honourable gentleman, but he neither knew of the transaction at the time, nor looked upon himself as responsible for any promise which might have been made by his predecessors in office. The fact was, that Sir William de Grey, then lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, had intimated his intention to resign, and Mr. Wedderburne was fixed upon for his successor; on which occasion the title of Lord Loughborough was also conferred upon him. Mr. Wallace succeeded to the office of attorney-general, and Mr. Mansfield was appointed solicitor-general.

Another of those personal bickerings arose, a few days after, out of the following circumstances. Mr. Fullarton, late secretary to the embassy at Paris, had, upon his return to England, offered to

raise a regiment, the command of which was given him as a return for his exertions. This appointment, however, had been contemptuously mentioned in a late debate by the Earl of Shelburne, who said, that a *clerk* ought not to be trusted with a regiment, and that he and his regiment would be as ready to draw their swords against the liberties of their country as against its foes. These aspersions were strongly resented by Mr. Fullarton, who introduced the subject in the House of Commons, when a warm altercation ensued. Lord North, after complimenting him on the spirit with which he felt and resented the injury, advised him to treat all personal attacks with indifference; he, however, sought other means of redress. Lord Shelburne gave him a meeting in Hyde Parke, and being wounded, though not dangerously, by Mr. Fullarton's second shot, fired his own remaining pistol in the air, upon which the matter terminated.

The loan of 12,000,000*l.* before mentioned was to be funded in the four per cents., and the interest to be raised chiefly by an increase of some old taxes, principally that on malt; but it was only to affect private breweries, an adequate allowance being made to the public brewer. The opposition made to this tax was very feeble, there being only 9 who refused to support the measure, "until the county petitions were first complied with," against 135, who voted for it. On bringing up the report, Mr. Hartley and some others asserted, "that, by agreeing to the report previously to remedying the grievances of the nation, the matter would be reduced to this alternative,—if the Parliament got the better of the people, this would become an absolute monarchy: if the people got the better of the Parliament, the King would be dethroned." This opinion was countenanced by 37 members out of 182 then present.

On the 6th of April the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, on the motion of Mr. Dunning, to take the petitions of the people into consideration, on which occasion a very remarkable debate occurred. The honourable mover submitted two propositions, which, should the House concur in them, he meant to follow up with real, substantial, and practicable measures; but, should they dissent from them, or endeavour to evade or procrastinate, there would be at once an end of the petitions and a full answer to the petitioners. His first motion was, that it be resolved by this House, "that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." This motion was warmly supported by the speaker of the House, who declared, that on an occasion like the present, he should deem himself criminal in remaining silent; the resolution proposed contained an allegation which was too notorious to require proof—which, in its full extent, did not admit of proof—it could be known only to the members of that House. As they were the only persons competent to resolve it, they were bound as jurors by the conviction arising in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly. The powers constitutionally vested in the executive part of the government, were, he said, amply sufficient for all the purposes of good government, but its undue influence had increased to a degree absolutely incompatible with every just idea of a limited monarchy. What the petitioners demanded should have originated within those walls; they were sitting as the representatives of the people, solely for their advantage and benefit, and were pledged to them for the faithful discharge of their trust. The lord-advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas, proposed such an amendment as he thought would be rejected by opposition, and, consequently, that the

whole would fall to the ground. The amendment, however, which consisted in inserting the words, "that it is now necessary to declare," was readily and unexpectedly agreed to by the opposite party; and on a division the numbers were, in favour of the motion 233, against it 215; so that ministers were left in a minority of 18. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that it was competent to that House to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the House to do so." This motion was also carried. It was then moved, by Mr. Thomas Pitt, "that it was the duty of that House to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to the House from the different counties, cities, and towns, in this kingdom." Lord North most earnestly implored the committee, as he had done on the former motion, to desist, but the resolution was agreed to. Mr. Fox then moved, "that the resolutions should be immediately reported to the House." This was protested against as violent, arbitrary, and contrary to the established usage of Parliament. The motion, however, was carried; and the chairman reporting the resolutions accordingly, they were severally agreed to by the House. Four days afterwards, the committee being resumed, Mr. Dunning moved "that there be laid before the House every session, within seven days after the meeting of Parliament, an account of all monies paid out of the civil list revenue to, or for the use of, or in trust for, any member of Parliament since the last recess." This, though objected to by ministers, was carried without a division. Mr. Dunning next moved, "that the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer of the household, comptroller

of the household, master of the household, clerks of the green cloth, and their deputies, should be rendered incapable of a seat in that House." This also was opposed; but, on a division, it was carried by 215 against 213. So far the opposition had triumphantly proceeded, when the sudden illness of the speaker obliged the House to adjourn to the 24th of April. The committee being then resumed, Mr. Dunning moved for an address, "that his Majesty would be pleased not to dissolve the Parliament or prorogue the present session until the objects of the petitions were answered." This motion, to the astonishment and chagrin of the opposition, was rejected by 254 against 203. It was evident, that, during the recess, a sudden change had taken place in the temper and disposition of the House. Mr. Fox, after the division, severely reprobated the conduct of those men who had thus receded from the solemn engagements which they had so recently entered into; and Mr. Dunning charged them with direct treachery to the nation, considering this resolution as an effectual bar to all future means and efforts of redress. On a subsequent resumption of the subject, he moved, "that the two resolutions passed on the 10th of April be reported." A motion, however, from the opposite side of the House, "that the chairman leave the chair," which amounted to a dissolution of the committee, was carried by 177 to 134. Thus ended those memorable deliberations.

During the session of 1778, an act had been passed relieving the Roman Catholics from some of the heavier penalties inflicted upon them in the last century. This measure was much approved in England; but in Scotland it excited great indignation, and dangerous popular commotions. Violent tumults took place at Edinburgh and Glasgow; the Popish chapel in the metropolis was destroyed; the

houses of the principal Catholics were attacked and plundered; and the fanatics formed themselves into a society, termed the "Protestant Association," to oppose any remission of the laws against the Papists. Of this association, Lord George Gordon, a man in the highest degree wild, eccentric, and enthusiastical, was chosen president. This association gradually extended to England; much pains were taken to prejudice the minds of the vulgar against the relaxation of the penal code; and it was at length determined to prepare a petition for a repeal of the law alluded to, which is affirmed to have obtained 120,000 signatures, chiefly of men of the lowest orders of society. Lord George Gordon, who was a member of the House of Commons, declined to present this petition, unless he were accompanied to the House by at least 20,000 men. A meeting of the association was consequently convened in St. George's Fields, on the 2d of June, whence it was supposed that not less than 50,000 persons proceeded in regular divisions, with Lord George Gordon at their head, to the House of Commons, where his lordship presented their petition. Towards evening this multitude began to grow very tumultuous, and grossly insulted several members of both Houses, compelling them, in passing to and from the House, to cry, No Popery! and to wear blue cockades. During the debates on the petition, Lord George Gordon frequently addressed the mob without, in terms calculated to inflame their passions, stating to them, "that the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the Popish chapels." After the adjournment of the House, the mob, agreeably to this suggestion, proceeded to demolish the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors. The military were ordered out; and though they were unable to prevent the mischief, they apprehended several of the rioters. The following

day, Saturday, passed quietly ; but on Sunday the rioters re-assembled in vast numbers, and destroyed the chapels and private dwellings belonging to the principal Catholics in the vicinity of Moorfields. On Monday they extended their devastations to other parts of the town ; and the house of Sir George Saville, in Leicester Fields, was totally demolished, Sir George having been the proposer of the obnoxious bill. They also destroyed a Catholic chapel, in Virginia Street, Ratcliff Highway, and a valuable library belonging to the priests. On Tuesday, the day for taking the petition into consideration, the mob again surrounded the Parliament House, repeating their outrages and insults. After passing some resolutions adapted to the occasion, and expressive of their indignation, the House adjourned. In the evening, the populace attacked the prison of Newgate, where their comrades were confined, and, setting the building in flames, liberated upwards of 300 felons and debtors. They next proceeded to Lord Mansfield's house, in Bloomsbury Square, which they totally demolished, with the paintings, library, manuscripts, and furniture, his lordship himself escaping with some difficulty. The prisons of Clerkenwell were also forced, many private houses were plundered and destroyed, and scarcely did the night afford any cessation of the riots. On Wednesday, the mob, more desperate than ever, attacked with incredible fury the houses of various individuals, chiefly Catholics, which they had previously marked for destruction. In the evening the King's Bench, the Fleet Prison, the New Compter, the toll-gates on Blackfriars' Bridge, and Langdale's large distillery in Holborn, were set on fire ; and, with a prodigious number of private dwellings in different parts of the town burning at the same time, formed a tremendous scene of conflagration. Attempts were also made on the Bank

and Pay Office ; but these, being strongly guarded, fortunately escaped destruction. At this time, the public indignation was much excited by the supineness of the magistracy of London ; and at length a privy council was convened, at which several members of the opposition attended, and the King himself declared, that, although the magistrates had not done their duty, he would not be deficient in his. General orders were then immediately transmitted to the military to fire upon the rioters, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate ; in consequence of which, by noon, on Thursday, order and tranquillity were perfectly restored, though at the expense of many of the rioters' lives. Next evening, Lord George Gordon was taken into custody, and, after a strict examination before the privy council, committed close prisoner to the Tower on a charge of high treason, which not being fully established at his trial, he was acquitted. An impeachment of the House of Commons for high crimes and misdemeanors would have been a more effectual mode of procedure, and would have ensured that punishment, which his audacious and inflammatory conduct so justly deserved. A great number of the rioters having been also apprehended, a special commission was issued for trying them, and many suffered death. But neither the sword of public justice, nor the more destructive fire of the military, proved so fatal to the great body of the delinquents, as their own inordinate appetites. Several hundreds fell the victims of inebriation, especially at Langdale's distillery ; while others in search of plunder were suddenly buried in the ruins of demolished houses.

On the very day that the riots commenced, the Duke of Richmond gave notice of his design to bring in a bill for annual parliaments, and a more equal representation of the people in the House of

Commons. The constitution, he said, had been impaired, and was impairing daily, by the accumulation of abuses: Parliament was becoming more and more servile: and the tendency of the prevailing system was, to make the will of the sovereign the rule and measure of the government. The most effectual remedy for the existing evils would be to shorten the duration of parliaments, rendering them annual; and to cause every man in the kingdom, of full age and not disqualified by law, to be represented in the House of Commons. At this very time, the House was prevented from listening by the outrages of the lawless multitude without, who, according to the principles of the proposed bill, were henceforth to be invested with the power of returning representatives to Parliament: the populace were on the point of rushing into the House, opposed only by the activity and resolution of the door-keepers and attendants. Several peers were grossly insulted, and, on entering, exhibited proofs of the indignities which they had sustained; and the House at length adjourned in the utmost confusion.

The members of the House of Commons began to assemble early on the 8th of June; but upon the speaker's pointing out to those present the impossibility of exercising their legislative functions, while the city of Westminster was under martial law, they adjourned to the 19th, as the Lords had done two days before. The meeting of both Houses, after this forced recess, was opened by his Majesty, who lamented the necessity which had obliged him, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to employ the force intrusted to him for the suppression of those acts of felony and treason, which had overborne all civil authority, and threatened the immediate subversion of all legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state; he at the same time

renewed his assurances, that he had no other object than to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of the constitution, the rule and measure of his conduct. Addresses of thanks for this speech were voted without a single negative. Next day, it was determined in a committee of the whole House of Commons, that no repeal of the act in favour of the Roman Catholics should take place, as the grievances said to arise from it were imaginary: but several resolutions were agreed to, tending to set the conduct of Parliament in a fair light, and to undeceive the ill-informed, yet well-meaning, part of the petitioners against that act. A bill was also carried through the Lower House, to restrain Papists from taking upon them the education of Protestant children; but many of the lords thinking it derogatory from their dignity and independence to have any bill forced upon them by popular outrage, or passed through a weak compliance with absurd prejudices, the bill was got rid of by a motion on the 4th of July, to put off the third reading till that day week. This amounted to a total rejection, as Parliament was prorogued on the 8th.

Government eventually derived an accession of strength from those riots which aimed at little less than its subversion; for they so strongly impressed the minds of the public with the danger arising from popular assemblies for political purposes, that the associations for reform were deserted by many who had at first encouraged them. Amongst other circumstances that also concurred to allay the discontents which had for some time existed, the chief articles of subsistence had fallen to nearly half the price which they bore at the beginning of the war. Wheat, which sold for 15*l.* per load in the year 1775, now fell to 7*l.* 10*s.*: barley, oats, and peas were reduced in nearly the same proportion; and hay was still more abundant, having fallen from 4*l.* 10*s.*

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The year opened with new accessions of glory to the naval renown of England: Sir George Rodney, having under his command a reinforcement of ships for the West Indies, and a part of the channel fleet with provisions and stores for the garrison of Gibraltar, had only been a few days at sea, when, on the 8th of January, he fell in with a convoy of sixteen merchantmen bound to Cadiz, under protection of a 64 gun ship, four frigates, and two smaller vessels, to which he immediately gave chase; and, in a few hours, the whole were taken. Prince William Henry, afterwards Duke of Clarence, the King's third son, embarked with Sir George. About a week after this exploit, he descried, off Cape St. Vincent, a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, which he directly bore down upon, taking the leegage, in order to prevent them from retreating into their own ports. The action began, in the midst of a very rough gale, at four in the afternoon; and, in little more than half an hour, one of the Spanish ships blew up, and all on board perished. The engagement continued till two in the morning, when the Phoenix of 80 guns, Admiral Langara's own ship, and three of 70 guns each, were taken and secured: two more of 70 guns had also struck; but, through the violence of the tempest, were afterwards driven on shore and lost. The rest of the squadron escaped in a shattered condition. Sir George Rodney's force was certainly much superior; yet his skill and courage were not the less eminently displayed in the attack, which the violence of the storm, the darkness of the night, and the vicinity of a lee-shore, rendered extremely dangerous. As soon as Sir George saw the supplies safely landed at Gibraltar, he proceeded to the West Indies, sending home his prizes with the detach-

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ment of the channel fleet under Admiral Darby, who, on his passage, captured the *Prothée*, a French ship of 64 guns, and three vessels laden with military stores, being part of a convoy bound to the Mauritius, in the East Indies.

Though the reinforcement under Admiral Rodney, after his arrival at St. Lucia on the 27th of March, still left the British fleet somewhat inferior to that of the French at Martinique, yet he soon returned a late menacing visit from the Count de Guichen, and remained two days off Fort Royal harbour, endeavouring to provoke the enemy to an engagement. He then left some swift-sailing vessels to watch their motions, and returned with the rest of his fleet to St. Lucia. In about a fortnight, Rodney received intelligence that the French fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line and a number of frigates, had put to sea in the night of the 15th of April; and, although he had three ships less, he used such exertions in pursuit of the enemy, as to come up with them in the morning of the 17th. At noon he made the signal for a general and close engagement, setting himself a noble example to all his officers, by beating three of the enemy's ships successively out of the line, and then bearing down upon the French admiral, whom, though assisted by two seconds, he fought for an hour and a half with unremitting fury, till the enemy bore away, whereby their line of battle was entirely broken in the centre. The great distance of the British van and rear, with the crippled state of some of Rodney's division, and particularly of his own ship, after having singly sustained such a conflict, rendered it impossible to make the victory complete by an immediate chase. His subsequent exertions to bring the enemy to an action were constantly eluded by the Count de Guichen, who first took shelter at Guadaloupe, and afterwards regained his former

place of security at Fort Royal, though not without receiving some severe blows in a few partial encounters. The arrival of a Spanish squadron of twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and transports with above 10,000 troops on board, seemed to give the count an invincible superiority, and to portend ruin to the British possessions, as well as to the British navy, in those seas, but the storm blew over without a single explosion. A pestilential distemper broke out among the Spanish troops, and the allied fleets, after remaining inactive for several weeks in the bay of Fort Royal, put to sea in the night of the 5th of July, directing their course to St. Domingo, whence Don Solano proceeded with the Spanish fleet to the Havannah, and the Count de Guichen put into Cape François, where he remained till the homeward bound trade from the French islands had assembled, when, taking it under his protection, he sailed directly for Europe. Sir George Rodney, thinking that the count only meant to convoy the trade to a certain latitude, and then proceed to the continent of America, sailed thither himself with eleven ships of the line and four frigates, to be in readiness to thwart the designs of his old enemy in every quarter. Although he found, soon after his arrival at New York, in September, that this effort of his zeal for the public service might have been dispensed with, yet, in the end, he had no cause to regret the trouble which he had taken, as it proved the means of saving the squadron under his immediate command from one of the most dreadful hurricanes that had ever swept the seas or desolated the islands in the West Indies.

The successes of the British forces on the continent and coast of America, during the whole of this campaign, were clouded with few misfortunes. Sir Henry Clinton, who had sailed from New York just before the close of the preceding year, with the

greater part of the army, under convoy of Admiral Arbuthnot, landed on John's Island, within thirty miles of Charlestown, about the middle of February. But the natural and artificial obstructions to the farther progress of the forces both by sea and land were so great, that the troops did not reach Charlestown Neck till the 29th of March. The frigates and some of the larger ships, which were lightened of their guns, crossed the bar on the 20th of March, and on the 9th of April effected their passage into the harbour, under a severe and impetuous fire from the batteries on Sullivan's Island. A joint summons was now sent to General Lincoln, who commanded in Charlestown, to surrender; but he replied, that duty and inclination prompted him to defend it to the last extremity. As soon, however, as the second parallel of the besiegers was complete, he offered to capitulate, but on conditions which were deemed inadmissible. In a few days, the third parallel being advanced within 150 yards of his lines, and preparations made for a general assault, he consented to deliver up the city on the terms originally proposed by the British commanders. Between 6000 and 7000 men, consisting of regular troops, militia, and sailors, became prisoners of war, and were allowed some of its honours; but in marching out to deposit their arms, the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. Near 400 pieces of ordnance, with a considerable quantity of stores, fell into the hands of the victors. Three American and one French frigate, a polacre of 16 guns, and some smaller vessels, were also taken. The naval capture would have been more considerable, had not the Americans, on seeing the bar crossed by the British squadron, sunk a 60 gun ship, three frigates, a brig, and several merchantmen, to obstruct the channel of the river. General Leslie took possession of the

town on the 12th of May; and the commander in chief immediately set on foot several expeditions, calculated to extinguish every idea of resistance in the interior of the province, and issued proclamations for the purpose of conciliating the voluntary submission of the inhabitants. These measures seemed to produce the desired effect: the only body of continental troops that still held out was unexpectedly attacked, and almost cut to pieces, by a detachment of horse under Colonel Tarleton; and the people in every part of the country appeared ready to embrace the offers of pardon and protection held out to them. Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, leaving 4000 men under Lord Cornwallis to secure the acquisitions already made, and to penetrate into North Carolina, as soon as the abatement of the intense heat of the season and other circumstances should concur to favour such an enterprise.

The departure of the commander in chief for New York was accelerated by the intelligence that a French armament was expected on that part of the coast, to co-operate with General Washington, and on the 10th of July, about three weeks after Sir Henry Clinton's return, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island from France, with seven sail of the line, five frigates, and 6000 troops under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, who assured the States that this was only the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid. The British fleet at New York being increased at the same juncture by the arrival of six sail of the line from England, a scheme was quickly formed by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot to attack the French and Americans at Rhode Island; but General Washington, by a rapid movement, crossing the North River, and advancing towards New York, obliged them to desist.

had suffered themselves to be deceived by the craft of Spain and France ; and the confidence with which ministers had assured Parliament that treaties inimical to the interests of Great Britain were not in existence, or even in embryo ; also beseeching his Majesty to reflect upon the extent of territory, power, and opulence, of reputation abroad and concord at home, which distinguished the opening of his Majesty's reign, and marked it as the most splendid and happy period in the history of this nation ; and to turn his eyes on the present endangered, impoverished, distracted, and even dismembered, state of the empire, after all the grants of successive parliaments, liberal even to profusion, and trusting to the very utmost extent of rational confidence ;—and finally stating to his Majesty, that if any thing could prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can be only new counsels and new counsellors,—a real change from the conviction of past errors,—and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless. Lord Stormont, in reply, imputed a great part of the public misfortunes to the incautious and too often violent language held in Parliament. Lord Mansfield declared himself persuaded that nothing but a full and comprehensive union of all parties and all men could effect the salvation of the country. He was old enough to have seen violent party struggles ; but no previous time presented an image of the present. How far the temper of the nation and the state of parties might admit of a coalition, he could not decide ; but the event was devoutly to be wished. The amendment was negatived by 82 against 41 voices. A similar amendment, moved in the House of Commons, by Lord John Cavendish, was, after a most acrimonious and stormy debate, negatived by 233 against 134. Lord North admitted that it was a duty of Parliament to cause bad ministers to be removed ; but he

insisted that proof should first be made of their delinquency. The disapprobation of that House must and ought to sweep ministers before it; and whenever his day of account should come, he declared himself ready to meet it without fear.

On the 6th of December, a resolution of censure on the ministers was moved in the House of Commons by the Earl of Upper Ossory, relative to the affairs of Ireland. This motion was supported by Mr. Dunning, a lawyer and speaker of great eminence, and by Mr. Burke, who drew a parallel between the situation of Ireland and that of America. Lord North, who opposed the motion, declared his intention to bring forward certain resolutions respecting Ireland in a few days, which he trusted would meet the ideas of gentlemen on both sides of the House. The motion was then negatived by 173 against 100; and a similar motion, in the Peers, by the Earl of Shelburne, was negatived by 82 against 37. Lord North, agreeably to his intimation, brought forward his propositions respecting Ireland, comprising several important concessions, particularly that Ireland should be allowed the free exportation of her woollens. These resolutions passed unanimously, and were received in Ireland with the warmest testimonies of joy and gratitude.

The army and navy estimates, which had been submitted to Parliament before the Christmas recess, while they served to show the vigour of the preparations for the ensuing campaign, could scarcely fail of exciting, at the same time, some alarm at the magnitude of the contest, and the prodigious expense with which it was attended. The aggregate of the forces deemed necessary for the prosecution of the war fell little short of 270,000 men, besides the troops upon the Irish and Indian establishments; and in order to provide for their maintenance, and for the other exigencies of the

state, 12,000,000*l.* were required to be raised by loan, in addition to the permanent means of supply. So considerable an increase of the national debt excited much opposition; ministers were accused of prodigality and waste of the public money; and economy became the order of the day. Early in 1780 public meetings were convened in various places, and petitions were presented to Parliament, praying for a correction of abuses in the public expenditure. The appointment of a select committee to examine the public accounts was moved for by Colonel Barré in the Lower, and the Earl of Shelburne in the Upper House; and Lord North, influenced by these proceedings, brought in a bill for instituting a commission of accounts, consisting of independent gentlemen, not members of either House, which was carried by a great majority; and their successive reports display much accuracy, ability, and impartiality. About the same time Mr. Burke brought forward a plan for the reduction of the national expenditure, and the diminution of the influence of the crown, to effect which purposes he moved for leave to bring in certain bills for the better regulation of his Majesty's civil establishments, for the sale of forest and other crown lands, for more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, and the duchy of Cornwall. The necessary minuteness of detail, the multiplicity of local circumstances, and personal considerations, on which the whole plan was founded, were embellished by Mr. Burke's genius and fancy with all the charms of eloquence; but the bills, after many violent conflicts, in the course of which the minister was more than once left in a minority, were finally lost.

In one of these debates, which had for its object the abolition of the board of trade, an extraordinary dispute took place between Sir Fletcher Norton

and Lord North. Mr. Fox having called upon the speaker for his opinion on the competency of Parliament to control the civil list expenditure, the latter took occasion to declare that the noble lord at the head of affairs and he were not friends, at which the minister expressed no small degree of surprise; Sir Fletcher then stated, that he had been induced to quit the bar, and to accept of his present situation, by an engagement on the part of the Duke of Grafton, at that time minister, that, whenever an opportunity offered, he should be provided for in the line of his profession, as a pledge of which, and by way of equivalent for the advantages he had given up, he now held the sinecure office of lord chief justice in Eyre. But, notwithstanding this compact, he had lately discovered, that a negotiation was in train between the noble minister then present, and the chief judge of one of the courts, by which the latter was to retire on a pension for the purpose of appointing another to supply his place, to the utter subversion of his own claim. Lord North said, he did not question the account given by the right honourable gentleman, but he neither knew of the transaction at the time, nor looked upon himself as responsible for any promise which might have been made by his predecessors in office. The fact was, that Sir William de Grey, then lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, had intimated his intention to resign, and Mr. Wedderburne was fixed upon for his successor; on which occasion the title of Lord Loughborough was also conferred upon him. Mr. Wallace succeeded to the office of attorney-general, and Mr. Mansfield was appointed solicitor-general.

Another of those personal bickerings arose, a few days after, out of the following circumstances. Mr. Fullarton, late secretary to the embassy at Paris, had, upon his return to England, offered to

raise a regiment, the command of which was given him as a return for his exertions. This appointment, however, had been contemptuously mentioned in a late debate by the Earl of Shelburne, who said, that a *clerk* ought not to be trusted with a regiment, and that he and his regiment would be as ready to draw their swords against the liberties of their country as against its foes. These aspersions were strongly resented by Mr. Fullarton, who introduced the subject in the House of Commons, when a warm altercation ensued. Lord North, after complimenting him on the spirit with which he felt and resented the injury, advised him to treat all personal attacks with indifference; he, however, sought other means of redress. Lord Shelburne gave him a meeting in Hyde Parke, and being wounded, though not dangerously, by Mr. Fullarton's second shot, fired his own remaining pistol in the air, upon which the matter terminated.

The loan of 12,000,000*l.* before mentioned was to be funded in the four per cents., and the interest to be raised chiefly by an increase of some old taxes, principally that on malt; but it was only to affect private breweries, an adequate allowance being made to the public brewer. The opposition made to this tax was very feeble, there being only 9 who refused to support the measure, "until the county petitions were first complied with," against 135, who voted for it. On bringing up the report, Mr. Hartley and some others asserted, "that, by agreeing to the report previously to remedying the grievances of the nation, the matter would be reduced to this alternative,—if the Parliament got the better of the people, this would become an absolute monarchy: if the people got the better of the Parliament, the King would be dethroned." This opinion was countenanced by 37 members out of 182 then present.

On the 6th of April the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, on the motion of Mr. Dunning, to take the petitions of the people into consideration, on which occasion a very remarkable debate occurred. The honourable mover submitted two propositions, which, should the House concur in them, he meant to follow up with real, substantial, and practicable measures; but, should they dissent from them, or endeavour to evade or procrastinate, there would be at once an end of the petitions and a full answer to the petitioners. His first motion was, that it be resolved by this House, "that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." This motion was warmly supported by the speaker of the House, who declared, that on an occasion like the present, he should deem himself criminal in remaining silent; the resolution proposed contained an allegation which was too notorious to require proof—which, in its full extent, did not admit of proof—it could be known only to the members of that House. As they were the only persons competent to resolve it, they were bound as jurors by the conviction arising in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly. The powers constitutionally vested in the executive part of the government, were, he said, amply sufficient for all the purposes of good government, but its undue influence had increased to a degree absolutely incompatible with every just idea of a limited monarchy. What the petitioners demanded should have originated within those walls; they were sitting as the representatives of the people, solely for their advantage and benefit, and were pledged to them for the faithful discharge of their trust. The lord-advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas, proposed such an amendment as he thought would be rejected by opposition, and, consequently, that the

whole would fall to the ground. The amendment, however, which consisted in inserting the words, "that it is now necessary to declare," was readily and unexpectedly agreed to by the opposite party; and on a division the numbers were, in favour of the motion 233, against it 215; so that ministers were left in a minority of 18. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that it was competent to that House to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the House to do so." This motion was also carried. It was then moved, by Mr. Thomas Pitt, "that it was the duty of that House to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to the House from the different counties, cities, and towns, in this kingdom." Lord North most earnestly implored the committee, as he had done on the former motion, to desist, but the resolution was agreed to. Mr. Fox then moved, "that the resolutions should be immediately reported to the House." This was protested against as violent, arbitrary, and contrary to the established usage of Parliament. The motion, however, was carried; and the chairman reporting the resolutions accordingly, they were severally agreed to by the House. Four days afterwards, the committee being resumed, Mr. Dunning moved "that there be laid before the House every session, within seven days after the meeting of Parliament, an account of all monies paid out of the civil list revenue to, or for the use of, or in trust for, any member of Parliament since the last recess." This, though objected to by ministers, was carried without a division. Mr. Dunning next moved, "that the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer of the household, comptroller

of the household, master of the household, clerks of the green cloth, and their deputies, should be rendered incapable of a seat in that House." This also was opposed; but, on a division, it was carried by 215 against 213. So far the opposition had triumphantly proceeded, when the sudden illness of the speaker obliged the House to adjourn to the 24th of April. The committee being then resumed, Mr. Dunning moved for an address, "that his Majesty would be pleased not to dissolve the Parliament or prorogue the present session until the objects of the petitions were answered." This motion, to the astonishment and chagrin of the opposition, was rejected by 254 against 203. It was evident, that, during the recess, a sudden change had taken place in the temper and disposition of the House. Mr. Fox, after the division, severely reprobated the conduct of those men who had thus receded from the solemn engagements which they had so recently entered into; and Mr. Dunning charged them with direct treachery to the nation, considering this resolution as an effectual bar to all future means and efforts of redress. On a subsequent resumption of the subject, he moved, "that the two resolutions passed on the 10th of April be reported." A motion, however, from the opposite side of the House, "that the chairman leave the chair," which amounted to a dissolution of the committee, was carried by 177 to 134. Thus ended those memorable deliberations.

During the session of 1778, an act had been passed relieving the Roman Catholics from some of the heavier penalties inflicted upon them in the last century. This measure was much approved in England; but in Scotland it excited great indignation, and dangerous popular commotions. Violent tumults took place at Edinburgh and Glasgow; the Popish chapel in the metropolis was destroyed; the

houses of the principal Catholics were attacked and plundered; and the fanatics formed themselves into a society, termed the "Protestant Association," to oppose any remission of the laws against the Papists. Of this association, Lord George Gordon, a man in the highest degree wild, eccentric, and enthusiastical, was chosen president. This association gradually extended to England; much pains were taken to prejudice the minds of the vulgar against the relaxation of the penal code; and it was at length determined to prepare a petition for a repeal of the law alluded to, which is affirmed to have obtained 120,000 signatures, chiefly of men of the lowest orders of society. Lord George Gordon, who was a member of the House of Commons, declined to present this petition, unless he were accompanied to the House by at least 20,000 men. A meeting of the association was consequently convened in St. George's Fields, on the 2d of June, whence it was supposed that not less than 50,000 persons proceeded in regular divisions, with Lord George Gordon at their head, to the House of Commons, where his lordship presented their petition. Towards evening this multitude began to grow very tumultuous, and grossly insulted several members of both Houses, compelling them, in passing to and from the House, to cry, No Popery! and to wear blue cockades. During the debates on the petition, Lord George Gordon frequently addressed the mob without, in terms calculated to inflame their passions, stating to them, "that the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the Popish chapels." After the adjournment of the House, the mob, agreeably to this suggestion, proceeded to demolish the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors. The military were ordered out; and though they were unable to prevent the mischief, they apprehended several of the rioters. The following

day, Saturday, passed quietly ; but on Sunday the rioters re-assembled in vast numbers, and destroyed the chapels and private dwellings belonging to the principal Catholics in the vicinity of Moorfields. On Monday they extended their devastations to other parts of the town ; and the house of Sir George Saville, in Leicester Fields, was totally demolished, Sir George having been the proposer of the obnoxious bill. They also destroyed a Catholic chapel, in Virginia Street, Ratcliff Highway, and a valuable library belonging to the priests. On Tuesday, the day for taking the petition into consideration, the mob again surrounded the Parliament House, repeating their outrages and insults. After passing some resolutions adapted to the occasion, and expressive of their indignation, the House adjourned. In the evening, the populace attacked the prison of Newgate, where their comrades were confined, and, setting the building in flames, liberated upwards of 300 felons and debtors. They next proceeded to Lord Mansfield's house, in Bloomsbury Square, which they totally demolished, with the paintings, library, manuscripts, and furniture, his lordship himself escaping with some difficulty. The prisons of Clerkenwell were also forced, many private houses were plundered and destroyed, and scarcely did the night afford any cessation of the riots. On Wednesday, the mob, more desperate than ever, attacked with incredible fury the houses of various individuals, chiefly Catholics, which they had previously marked for destruction. In the evening the King's Bench, the Fleet Prison, the New Compter, the toll-gates on Blackfriars' Bridge, and Langdale's large distillery in Holborn, were set on fire ; and, with a prodigious number of private dwellings in different parts of the town burning at the same time, formed a tremendous scene of conflagration. Attempts were also made on the Bank

and Pay Office ; but these, being strongly guarded, fortunately escaped destruction. At this time, the public indignation was much excited by the supineness of the magistracy of London ; and at length a privy council was convened, at which several members of the opposition attended, and the King himself declared, that, although the magistrates had not done their duty, he would not be deficient in his. General orders were then immediately transmitted to the military to fire upon the rioters, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate ; in consequence of which, by noon, on Thursday, order and tranquillity were perfectly restored, though at the expense of many of the rioters' lives. Next evening, Lord George Gordon was taken into custody, and, after a strict examination before the privy council, committed close prisoner to the Tower on a charge of high treason, which not being fully established at his trial, he was acquitted. An impeachment of the House of Commons for high crimes and misdemeanors would have been a more effectual mode of procedure, and would have ensured that punishment, which his audacious and inflammatory conduct so justly deserved. A great number of the rioters having been also apprehended, a special commission was issued for trying them, and many suffered death. But neither the sword of public justice, nor the more destructive fire of the military, proved so fatal to the great body of the delinquents, as their own inordinate appetites. Several hundreds fell the victims of inebriation, especially at Langdale's distillery ; while others in search of plunder were suddenly buried in the ruins of demolished houses.

On the very day that the riots commenced, the Duke of Richmond gave notice of his design to bring in a bill for annual parliaments, and a more equal representation of the people in the House of

Commons. The constitution, he said, had been impaired, and was impairing daily, by the accumulation of abuses: Parliament was becoming more and more servile: and the tendency of the prevailing system was, to make the will of the sovereign the rule and measure of the government. The most effectual remedy for the existing evils would be to shorten the duration of parliaments, rendering them annual; and to cause every man in the kingdom, of full age and not disqualified by law, to be represented in the House of Commons. At this very time, the House was prevented from listening by the outrages of the lawless multitude without, who, according to the principles of the proposed bill, were henceforth to be invested with the power of returning representatives to Parliament: the populace were on the point of rushing into the House, opposed only by the activity and resolution of the door-keepers and attendants. Several peers were grossly insulted, and, on entering, exhibited proofs of the indignities which they had sustained; and the House at length adjourned in the utmost confusion.

The members of the House of Commons began to assemble early on the 8th of June; but upon the speaker's pointing out to those present the impossibility of exercising their legislative functions, while the city of Westminster was under martial law, they adjourned to the 19th, as the Lords had done two days before. The meeting of both Houses, after this forced recess, was opened by his Majesty, who lamented the necessity which had obliged him, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to employ the force intrusted to him for the suppression of those acts of felony and treason, which had overborne all civil authority, and threatened the immediate subversion of all legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state; he at the same time

renewed his assurances, that he had no other object than to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of the constitution, the rule and measure of his conduct. Addresses of thanks for this speech were voted without a single negative. Next day, it was determined in a committee of the whole House of Commons, that no repeal of the act in favour of the Roman Catholics should take place, as the grievances said to arise from it were imaginary: but several resolutions were agreed to, tending to set the conduct of Parliament in a fair light, and to undeceive the ill-informed, yet well-meaning, part of the petitioners against that act. A bill was also carried through the Lower House, to restrain Papists from taking upon them the education of Protestant children; but many of the lords thinking it derogatory from their dignity and independence to have any bill forced upon them by popular outrage, or passed through a weak compliance with absurd prejudices, the bill was got rid of by a motion on the 4th of July, to put off the third reading till that day week. This amounted to a total rejection, as Parliament was prorogued on the 8th.

Government eventually derived an accession of strength from those riots which aimed at little less than its subversion; for they so strongly impressed the minds of the public with the danger arising from popular assemblies for political purposes, that the associations for reform were deserted by many who had at first encouraged them. Amongst other circumstances that also concurred to allay the discontents which had for some time existed, the chief articles of subsistence had fallen to nearly half the price which they bore at the beginning of the war. Wheat, which sold for 15*l.* per load in the year 1775, now fell to 7*l.* 10*s.*: barley, oats, and peas were reduced in nearly the same proportion; and hay was still more abundant, having fallen from 4*l.* 10*s.*

to 40s. per load, which had a material influence on the prices of cattle.

The year opened with new accessions of glory to the naval renown of England: Sir George Rodney, having under his command a reinforcement of ships for the West Indies, and a part of the channel fleet with provisions and stores for the garrison of Gibraltar, had only been a few days at sea, when, on the 8th of January, he fell in with a convoy of sixteen merchantmen bound to Cadiz, under protection of a 64 gun ship, four frigates, and two smaller vessels, to which he immediately gave chase; and, in a few hours, the whole were taken. Prince William Henry, afterwards Duke of Clarence, the King's third son, embarked with Sir George. About a week after this exploit, he descried, off Cape St. Vincent, a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, which he directly bore down upon, taking the leegage, in order to prevent them from retreating into their own ports. The action began, in the midst of a very rough gale, at four in the afternoon; and, in little more than half an hour, one of the Spanish ships blew up, and all on board perished. The engagement continued till two in the morning, when the Phoenix of 80 guns, Admiral Langara's own ship, and three of 70 guns each, were taken and secured: two more of 70 guns had also struck; but, through the violence of the tempest, were afterwards driven on shore and lost. The rest of the squadron escaped in a shattered condition. Sir George Rodney's force was certainly much superior; yet his skill and courage were not the less eminently displayed in the attack, which the violence of the storm, the darkness of the night, and the vicinity of a lee-shore, rendered extremely dangerous. As soon as Sir George saw the supplies safely landed at Gibraltar, he proceeded to the West Indies, sending home his prizes with the detach-

ment of the channel fleet under Admiral Darby, who, on his passage, captured the *Prothée*, a French ship of 64 guns, and three vessels laden with military stores, being part of a convoy bound to the Mauritius, in the East Indies.

Though the reinforcement under Admiral Rodney, after his arrival at St. Lucia on the 27th of March, still left the British fleet somewhat inferior to that of the French at Martinique, yet he soon returned a late menacing visit from the Count de Guichen, and remained two days off Fort Royal harbour, endeavouring to provoke the enemy to an engagement. He then left some swift-sailing vessels to watch their motions, and returned with the rest of his fleet to St. Lucia. In about a fortnight, Rodney received intelligence that the French fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line and a number of frigates, had put to sea in the night of the 15th of April; and, although he had three ships less, he used such exertions in pursuit of the enemy, as to come up with them in the morning of the 17th. At noon he made the signal for a general and close engagement, setting himself a noble example to all his officers, by beating three of the enemy's ships successively out of the line, and then bearing down upon the French admiral, whom, though assisted by two seconds, he fought for an hour and a half with unremitting fury, till the enemy bore away, whereby their line of battle was entirely broken in the centre. The great distance of the British van and rear, with the crippled state of some of Rodney's division, and particularly of his own ship, after having singly sustained such a conflict, rendered it impossible to make the victory complete by an immediate chase. His subsequent exertions to bring the enemy to an action were constantly eluded by the Count de Guichen, who first took shelter at Guadaloupe, and afterwards regained his former

place of security at Fort Royal, though not without receiving some severe blows in a few partial encounters. The arrival of a Spanish squadron of twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and transports with above 10,000 troops on board, seemed to give the count an invincible superiority, and to portend ruin to the British possessions, as well as to the British navy, in those seas, but the storm blew over without a single explosion. A pestilential distemper broke out among the Spanish troops, and the allied fleets, after remaining inactive for several weeks in the bay of Fort Royal, put to sea in the night of the 5th of July, directing their course to St. Domingo, whence Don Solano proceeded with the Spanish fleet to the Havannah, and the Count de Guichen put into Cape François, where he remained till the homeward bound trade from the French islands had assembled, when, taking it under his protection, he sailed directly for Europe. Sir George Rodney, thinking that the count only meant to convoy the trade to a certain latitude, and then proceed to the continent of America, sailed thither himself with eleven ships of the line and four frigates, to be in readiness to thwart the designs of his old enemy in every quarter. Although he found, soon after his arrival at New York, in September, that this effort of his zeal for the public service might have been dispensed with, yet, in the end, he had no cause to regret the trouble which he had taken, as it proved the means of saving the squadron under his immediate command from one of the most dreadful hurricanes that had ever swept the seas or desolated the islands in the West Indies.

The successes of the British forces on the continent and coast of America, during the whole of this campaign, were clouded with few misfortunes. Sir Henry Clinton, who had sailed from New York just before the close of the preceding year, with the

greater part of the army, under convoy of Admiral Arbuthnot, landed on John's Island, within thirty miles of Charlestown, about the middle of February. But the natural and artificial obstructions to the farther progress of the forces both by sea and land were so great, that the troops did not reach Charlestown Neck till the 29th of March. The frigates and some of the larger ships, which were lightened of their guns, crossed the bar on the 20th of March, and on the 9th of April effected their passage into the harbour, under a severe and impetuous fire from the batteries on Sullivan's Island. A joint summons was now sent to General Lincoln, who commanded in Charlestown, to surrender; but he replied, that duty and inclination prompted him to defend it to the last extremity. As soon, however, as the second parallel of the besiegers was complete, he offered to capitulate, but on conditions which were deemed inadmissible. In a few days, the third parallel being advanced within 150 yards of his lines, and preparations made for a general assault, he consented to deliver up the city on the terms originally proposed by the British commanders. Between 6000 and 7000 men, consisting of regular troops, militia, and sailors, became prisoners of war, and were allowed some of its honours; but in marching out to deposit their arms, the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. Near 400 pieces of ordnance, with a considerable quantity of stores, fell into the hands of the victors. Three American and one French frigate, a polacre of 16 guns, and some smaller vessels, were also taken. The naval capture would have been more considerable, had not the Americans, on seeing the bar crossed by the British squadron, sunk a 60 gun ship, three frigates, a brig, and several merchantmen, to obstruct the channel of the river. General Leslie took possession of the

town on the 12th of May; and the commander in chief immediately set on foot several expeditions, calculated to extinguish every idea of resistance in the interior of the province, and issued proclamations for the purpose of conciliating the voluntary submission of the inhabitants. These measures seemed to produce the desired effect: the only body of continental troops that still held out was unexpectedly attacked, and almost cut to pieces, by a detachment of horse under Colonel Tarleton; and the people in every part of the country appeared ready to embrace the offers of pardon and protection held out to them. Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, leaving 4000 men under Lord Cornwallis to secure the acquisitions already made, and to penetrate into North Carolina, as soon as the abatement of the intense heat of the season and other circumstances should concur to favour such an enterprise.

The departure of the commander in chief for New York was accelerated by the intelligence that a French armament was expected on that part of the coast, to co-operate with General Washington, and on the 10th of July, about three weeks after Sir Henry Clinton's return, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island from France, with seven sail of the line, five frigates, and 6000 troops under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, who assured the States that this was only the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid. The British fleet at New York being increased at the same juncture by the arrival of six sail of the line from England, a scheme was quickly formed by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot to attack the French and Americans at Rhode Island; but General Washington, by a rapid movement, crossing the North River, and advancing towards New York, obliged them to desist.

The French and American commanders expected to be joined about this time by the Count de Guichen, with a land force and twenty ships of the line from the West Indies ; in which case New York was to be assailed in every direction with irresistible fury : but his departure for Europe made it necessary for Washington to have a meeting with Rochambeau, to concert new measures. While the former was absent upon this service, General Arnold, who then commanded a considerable body of troops at West Point on the North River, but who had lately entered into a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for delivering up to him that important post, requested that a confidential person might be sent to him, finally to adjust the business and carry it into effect without delay. Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, a young man of singular accomplishments, was charged with this commission ; and passed up the river unknown and unsuspected, from the head-quarters at New York, to the post of West Point. On his return by land, however, (September the 23rd,) he was taken in disguise, and with a false passport, by three American privates, to whom he in vain offered large rewards if they would suffer him to escape. On examination, the papers found upon him discovered all the particulars of the conspiracy ; and his case being referred to a board of general officers, of which the Marquis de la Fayette was one, they unanimously determined that he came under the denomination of a spy ; and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death. This, notwithstanding the solicitations and menaces of Sir Henry Clinton, who anxiously sought the means of saving him, was, on the 2d of October, inflicted by the hands of the hangman ! a deed, the memory of which must rest, for ever, as an indelible stain upon the character of Washington.

He died like a man and a soldier, regretting only the ignominious mode in which he was to forfeit his life, and his memory was honoured with a monument in Westminster Abbey. General Arnold, with great difficulty, made his escape to New York, where he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general in the British army.

While the war may be said to have languished in the central colonies from the near equipoise of strength, or the secure positions of the contending parties, the state of affairs in the south afforded greater scope for military enterprise. The force which had been left under Lord Cornwallis in Carolina, though disposed with the greatest judgment, seemed likely to be overwhelmed by the increasing armies of the Americans on the frontiers, whose confidence of success was not more owing to the superiority of their numbers, than to their having Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, at their head. But that general had now a Cornwallis and a Rawdon to contend with; and the laurels gained at Saratoga were doomed to fade in the neighbourhood of Camden. From this post, the British army, consisting of about 2000 effective men, set off in the night of the 15th of August, with the hopes of surprising the Americans in their camp, which was twelve miles distant. General Gates had, at the very same time, formed a similar scheme of attacking Lord Cornwallis by surprise, and was then on his march for that purpose with about 6000 men, of which the militia formed the greatest part. The advanced guards of both armies met and fired upon each other at two o'clock in the morning, and when day-light appeared, Lord Rawdon and Colonel Webster charged the enemy with such vigour, that the militia fled at the first onset. The reserve, consisting of about 2500 regulars, stood their ground very firmly for near an hour, but were at length

forced to give way in all quarters, abandoning their cannon, camp-equipage, and stores. Between 800 and 900 of the Americans, including General Gregory, were killed in the action, and in the pursuit, which was continued for more than twenty miles from the field of battle: and 1000 were made prisoners. Only 69 of the British troops were killed in this engagement; and, to complete the destruction of the provincial force to the southward, Colonel Tarleton, two days after, came up with a detached corps under General Sumpter, near the Catawba Fords, and poured upon them so unexpectedly, that the attack was little more than a slaughter and rout. General Gates left the remains of his army to the care of General Smallwood, and retired into North Carolina.

The news of so brilliant a victory were not received with corresponding emotions of joy in England, the spirits of the people having lately been sunk in the contemplation of some of the severest blows which British commerce had ever sustained. Admiral Geary, who, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy in May, had been appointed to the command of the channel fleet, captured, in the beginning of July, twelve merchantmen from Port-au-Prince, and proceeded soon after to the southward, in the hope of falling in with a detached squadron of French and Spanish ships, of which he had received some intelligence. While he was cruising with this view off Cape Finisterre, a rich and considerable convoy for the East and West Indies, attended by the *Ramillies* and two frigates, sailed from Portsmouth in the latter end of July, and were intercepted on the 9th of August by the combined fleets under Don Lewis de Cordova. The *Ramillies*, with the frigates, and a few merchantmen, escaped; but more than fifty sail were carried into Cadiz. Besides the immense value of the merchandize, a number of

the ships were loaded with naval and military stores for the settlements in their respective places of destination. About the same time, an account was received of the capture of fourteen ships of the outward-bound Quebec fleet by some American privateers off the banks of Newfoundland; and this concurrence of losses spread a general gloom throughout the nation.

An alliance which had been entered into by the northern powers, under the name of the "Armed Neutrality," and some violent disputes with Holland, which seemed advancing to a direct rupture, tended in no small degree to increase the public despondence at this period. The Dutch, from the beginning of the disturbances in America, had not only supplied the people of that country with merchandise, but with warlike stores. After the interference of France and Spain in the quarrel, their ports were open equally to all the enemies of Great Britain; and the vast profits of a contraband trade made them regardless of every other consideration. Various remonstrances were made on this head by the British ambassador at the Hague, but without effect. One of the subjects of complaint deserves particular notice. An encounter took place in September, 1779, between Captain Pearson of the *Serapis* man of war, accompanied by the *Scarborough* frigate, having under their convoy the trade from the Baltic, and Paul Jones, a native of Scotland, the commander of an American squadron, which had for some time before infested the British seas. After a very fierce and bloody action, during which the convoy had full time to escape, the *Serapis* and *Scarborough* were taken and carried to the Texel. On this a very strong memorial was presented to the States General by Sir Joseph Yorke, claiming those ships and their crews, as having been captured by "a rebel subject and a

criminal of the state." To which their High Mightinesses replied, that they were not authorized to pass judgment on those prizes or on the person of Paul Jones. The breach gradually widened. On the 1st of January following, Commodore Fielding fell in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ships off Portland, convoyed by a small squadron under Count Byland; and desiring permission to visit them, to ascertain whether they contained any contraband goods, was refused, on which he fired a shot a-head of the Dutch admiral, who returned a broadside: Commodore Fielding did the same; and the Dutch then struck their colours. In the mean time the greatest part of the convoy bore away to the coast of France; but such as remained, and had naval stores on board, were stopped, and the Dutch admiral was informed that he was at liberty to hoist his colours and prosecute his voyage. He refused, however, to quit his convoy, and accompanied Commodore Fielding to Portsmouth. A peremptory demand of reparation and redress was made by the States without effect; and, on the 17th of April, his Majesty published a declaration, stating, "that repeated memorials having been presented by his ambassador to the States General, demanding the succours stipulated by treaty, to which requisition they had given no answer, nor signified any intention of compliance, his Majesty considered their High Mightinesses as having deserted the alliance that had so long subsisted between Great Britain and the republic; and his Majesty from that time suspended, provisionally, all the stipulations of the several existing treaties, particularly of the marine treaty of 1764." The immediate design of such explicit language was to prevent the States, if possible, from acceding to the late confederacy of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, the object of which was, that a free ship

should make free goods, or, in other words, that a neutral ship, although loaded with a cargo belonging to one of the powers at war, should pass as free and unmolested as in time of peace. The Dutch, unwilling to forego the advantages of a highly profitable trade, had recourse, as usual, to procrastination, till matters were brought to an issue by the following incident. On the 3d of September, the *Mercury*, a congress packet, was taken by the *Vestal* frigate off the banks of Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Laurens, late president of the congress, charged with a commission to Holland. On being brought to England, he was examined by the privy council, and committed to the Tower, on a charge of high treason. His papers, which had been thrown overboard, and saved from sinking by the alertness of a British seaman, were found to contain the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the states of America, some articles of which had been provisionally agreed to and signed two years before at Aix-la-Chapelle by William Lee, formerly an alderman of London, but then an agent for congress, and John de Neufville, a merchant of Amsterdam, acting under powers delegated to him by M. Van Berkel, the grand pensionary of that city. These papers were immediately transmitted to the British ambassador at the Hague, who was instructed to present a memorial to the States General, requiring them to disavow the proceedings of the grand pensionary and his accomplices, and to inflict upon them a punishment suitable to the magnitude of their offences: he was farther enjoined to declare, that if satisfaction should be either refused or delayed, the States General would be considered as making themselves parties to the injury, and such measures be pursued as the law of nations authorized for compelling a reparation of the wrong.

No satisfactory answer being returned to the memorial within the time expected, Sir Joseph Yorke was recalled; and on the 20th of December, letters of reprisal were ordered to be issued against the Dutch, a measure totally unexpected on the part of the States General, and for which they were ill-prepared. The manifesto published on this occasion, which was generally admired as a master-piece of political writing, has been ascribed to Gibbon, the celebrated historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire, and at that time one of the commissioners of trade.

The celebrated Maria Theresa, Empress of Germany, and Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, died on the 29th of November, in the 63d year of her age, after a reign of 40 years. She was succeeded by her son, the Emperor Joseph the Second.

END OF VOL. II.

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